

LAHORE:

ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,

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"What exhibition could be found more interesting than a Camera-Obscura, which should reflect past incidents of historical or private interest, and recall, with the vividness and minuteness of life, at least, the external characteristics of long past ages."—Thomas H. Dyer.

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P R E F A C E

ALTHOUGH the capital of the Panjáb could never vie with the Imperial city of Delhi, the Rome of Asia, in the variety and profusion of its ancient monumental remains, or with the city of Akbar (Akbarábad, or Agra) in the splendour of its architecture, it, nevertheless, possesses as many and as interesting historical sights and reminiscences as any other famous city in India ; while no Indian city can boast of having been the seat of so many Imperial dynasties as Lahore. Its lofty houses, gilded minarets and bulb-like domes, visible from afar, give it an imposing appearance, while its crowded streets, busy markets, and thriving industries, furnish internal evidence of great prosperity and successful progress.

It is situated in a region famous in history as the camping ground of the early Aryan migration and civilisation, as the seat of the holy singers of the Vedic hymns—the fairer race, who, reducing to bondage, or driving back the black-skinned servile races, spread eastwards, and whose records, side by side with the Egyptian records and the Chinese philosophy, go back further than those of any other country.

The Panjáb was the home of Northern Buddhism, which, having received a fresh impulse from the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms of the Panjáb, and converted the Scythian dynasties to its faith, found here a favorable soil for achieving those triumphs in religion and literature which affected nearly half the human race. Up to this day the remains of that interesting period are unearthed on the North-Western frontier of the Province, once the theatre of the cult, and make us marvel at the architectural skill possessed by the ancients.

The region calls attention from the interest attaching to it as the classic ground of Alexander's conquests, which materially influenced Brahmanism in the Panjáb, and gave the first impulse to sculptural art in Northern India. It has been, in short, the cradle of peoples and of religions, and appeals to the most far-reaching of the faculties and sympathies of an enlightened mind.

Viewed from a political standpoint, nature has given the Panjáb a crowning position in the great Indian Peninsula. It is aptly termed the steel-head of the spear of this great empire, the guard-room of India on the north. From the earliest times, the Panjáb has served as a bulwark of defence against foreign aggression, the outpost of the line of battle ; and it has proved one of the greatest recruiting grounds of armies in the East

It is pre-eminently the 'soldier's land,' the 'sword in hand of India,' whose warriors have fought bravely, side by side with the soldiers of Great Britain, in regions from beyond the Khyber to the confines of China, from Burma and the Straits to the coast of Africa and distant Egypt and Mongolia. Whether fighting with the Afghan, or the Moor, the Burmese or the Siamese, they have upheld the honour of the British name, and powerfully contributed to those successes which have made it stand proudly forth amongst these of the nations of the world.

But it is in its position as the chief city of this land of great traditions that its political interest chiefly consists. Lahore claims the attention of both the student of history and the general reader. It has been successively the seat of ancient Hindu and Muhammadan monarchies, and was, for upwards of two centuries, the focus of those early struggles between Hinduism and Muhammadanism, dating back to the time of Sabuktagin and Mahmūd, which resulted in the establishment in India of a religion, which, springing up from the deserts of Arabia, materially affected the political and social condition of more than one-fourth of the population of the globe. Here, in his royal palace, did the politic Akbar hold his cabinet councils. The place is associated with the loves of Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān, and is memorable as the birth-place of the magnificent Shāh Jahān.

When the reflecting mind of the pious Nanak conceived the amelioration of man's social condition and the combination of conflicting creeds into one, enjoining the worship of one invisible God, the political position given to Lahore contributed, in no small a degree, to the development of the religious order established by him, and supported by his zealous successors; while it was chiefly with reference to the policy here promulgated and pursued, and the acts here done by those who represented the power of the house of Tymūr, then on the wane, that the disciples of the Gurú, from a set of quietists, as they had been left by their great leader, turned into warriors, exchanging ploughs for arms, inflamed with a new spirit of nationality by their last martial Gurú, the valorous Govind.

In more recent times we find it remarkable as the capital of a kingdom founded by Ranjit Singh, the lion of the Panjáb; while at the present moment it is distinguished as the chief city of a Province under the British, containing within its boundaries races representing, perhaps, the best of Aryan chivalry.

The want of a history of this Imperial city, devoted exclusively to an account of the events which occurred in it in past ages, and which supply either some missing link in the history of the Province, or are of value on account of the interest attaching to them as incidents of the lives of great men who once played a conspicuous part in the politics of the country, and to

a description of its architectural remains and antiquities, had been long felt. While Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and other chief cities of India had all their guide-books for the information of travellers, it was a source of regret that the capital of the Panjáb should be without even one such book. There is certainly as much of interest to be seen at Lahore as in any of the great cities of India, famous in past history, or centres of modern civilisation, and visitors to the metropolis of the Panjáb naturally asked whether there was not a guide book to it, and were disappointed on being informed that there was none.

It is true, a work of reference, called "*A Brief Account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore*," was published in 1873. by Mr. T. H. Thornton, late Secretary to Government, Panjáb, and subsequently a Judge of the Chief Court; and a revised edition of it, the joint work of that gentleman and Mr. J. L. Kipling, the Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore, appeared in 1876. It is a work of great merit, and does much credit to the industry of the learned authors, but its scope is limited, and there is much to tell which has been left untold.

Moreover, the work is out of print, and so many changes have taken place since it was published, that a complete book of reference, of convenient size, for this important city, had become a recognised necessity.

To supply this want, then, the present work was undertaken. It is hardly necessary to say that the difficulties in its compilation have been of a nature not easily to be surmounted. There was not a single book that treated exclusively of the events of public interest which took place in Lahore during the Muhammadan period—while of its pre-Muhammadan history very little is known—or that threw any light on the old monumental remains which it may still claim to possess, or furnished any information regarding its antiquities.

The local chronicles, such as, *Khazinat-ul-Aulia*, *Sakinat-ul-Asfia*, &c., treat of the lives of saints, of which very exaggerated accounts have been given, while the general histories of India, such as, *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, *Ikbāl-nāmā Jahāngiri*, *Muntakhib-ul-Tawdrikh*, &c., are devoted to describing wars, bestowing high panegyrics on individual persons in power or authority, or deprecating the conduct of others less favored, and are, in fact, a record of vile court intrigues, atrocious murders, and acts of violence and spoliation. Matters of local detail are enveloped in hazy diction and tedious hyperbole, and the difficulty of gleaning materials scattered over innumerable pages of voluminous books written after this fashion, with no index, and nothing to guide the reader to their contents, and, in not a few instances, without even headings of the subjects treated of, can be better conceived than described. Some very rare manuscripts had, therefore, to be procured for the purpose of collecting materials for the historical portion of the work, and among these

may be mentioned the *Sháh Jahán Náma*, of Mulla Muhammad Sálch, *Lahori*, the brother of Inayatullah, author of the well-known Persian-work, the *Bahar-i-Dánish*; the *Khulísat-ul-Tawárikh*, of Sujan Rai, *Kanungo* of Batala, who held office under Aurangzeb; the *Badsháh Náma*, of Mulla Abdul Hamid, *Lahori*, compiled by order of Sháh Jahán; the *Tawárikh-i-Mujaddadia*; *Tuhfat-ul-Wásilín*, of Sheikh Ahmad Zanjani; the *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, of Hassan Nizami of Lahore; the *Tarikh-i-Dáúdi* of Abdullah; the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Hyder Mirza Doghlat; the *Tazkira-i-Choughattai*, of Muhammad Hadi, Dewan of Lahore, in the time of Bahádúr Sháh; *Tazkira Anand Rám Mukhlis*, compiled in the time of Muhammad Sháh; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, &c. Superfluities which abounded in the original works have been carefully avoided in reducing into shape the present account, and it is hoped that the historical notes are as full as is compatible with precision for a work of reference like this, which lays no claims to completeness, or to any thing approaching an elaborate treatment of the subjects mentioned in it. The writer's object has been to give an idea of the state of things at the seat of Provincial, and, at times, of Imperial, Government, as introductory to larger works on history touching Indian politics; and brevity had consequently to be kept in view.

As to the descriptive portion of the work, it should be remembered that Lahore, as regards its architectural remains, is not to be judged from the monuments which, having survived the wreck of time, meet here and there the eye of the visitor. The ruthless hands of the Afghans and the Sikhs have, each in turn, laboured diligently to deprive it of its architectural embellishment. Many a monument of surpassing beauty and elegance has been totally destroyed, and not a vestige of it left, while many have been deprived of their ornamental and decorative details, so that nothing is left of them but a mere skeleton. These last had to be abandoned by the destroyers as useless objects, because the amazing strength and solidity of the material defied the utmost power of their blunt hammers, and stood quite unconcerned the test of their sharp chisels.

Despite, however, the invisible effect of time—that mysterious, slow, and silent, but sure, worker, which has reared up, and, in turn, mingled with the dust so many powerful dynasties, and of which the German poet has fittingly said :—

Was ist denn dauerend in der welt Zu sehen ?

Was steht denn fest, wenn Rom nicht konnte stehen ? *

Despite the great revolutions that took place before the conquest of the country by the British; despite the cruel fate to which it became subject under despotic rulers, and which completed the work of destruction every where, many old

* Can aught on earth's vast place e'er hope to stand ?
Since Rome has sunk beneath Time's conquering hand ?

monuments of early monarchies and civilisation, survive to recall to mind ages of which little is now known to the curious observer.

It will be interesting to ascertain to whom these relics of past ages, these monuments of departed greatness, belonged; who the notables were whose ashes lie buried beneath these ancient domes and cenotaphs; who the men were who now rest helpless and neglected in these silent places, far removed from the noisy haunts of men. In such solitudes man feels real awe, and realizes more than ever, how unstable and transitory are his works, how nations rise and pass away, how the most exalted productions of human skill and invention sink into oblivion, and how time and death hurl away in one vast ruin the most triumphant and glorious wonders of the world. To collect information on such matters has, again, involved no small amount of trouble. If you ask a neighbouring zemindár, to whom an isolated dome in the midst of cultivated fields, or an old tower, at a distance from the Grand Trunk road, belongs, he will only tell you: "*Bádshahán de wele da hai*," that is: "it belongs to the time of kings;" or a more well-informed person may reply to your anxious enquiry: "*Choughattian de wele da hai*," meaning: "It belongs to the time of the Choughattai kings." With this piece of valuable information, the enquirer has to return home, with little reason to be gratified with the result of his expedition.

The only works extant on the old buildings of Lahore are the *Tahqíqát-i-Chishti*, of Maulvi Núr Ahmad, and a book in Urdú, published by the late Rai Bahádúr Kanhia Lal, called the *Tarikh-i-Lahore*, in the compilation of which the Rai professes to have been materially assisted by the late Mufti Ghulam Sarwar, of Lahore. This last work contains little that is new, and that of *Chishti* is full of stories of supernatural powers supposed to have been possessed by local saints, whose tombs are still so numerous in the neighbourhood of Lahore. This work which, notwithstanding its shortcomings, is not altogether devoid of merit, was published by its author in 1867, since which many tombs and old monuments, mentioned in it, have been completely destroyed. Again, the work is full of discrepancies and errors. With such scanty material at my disposal, and with a view to doing justice to the subject in which I had interested myself, I conceived that I could not do better than make personal enquiries from old residents of the city, men of letters and knowledge, and intelligent and aged men residing in the neighbourhood. The information thus obtained was carefully compared with old manuscript works on the lives of Muhammadan saints and other eminent men who have flourished in the country. Among such works which have been consulted, may be mentioned—the *Rauzat-ul-Ahbáb*, the *Tazkirat-ul-Arifin*, *Kasas-ul-Aulia*, *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, *Mirat-ul-Hind*, *Habib-ul-Siyar*, the *Kitab-i-Razwání*, *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, *Haqiqat-ul-Fukara*, *Dalil-ul-Arifin*, *Iksiri Wilayat*, &c. Other histories and works, too numerous to detail, which here and there contain notices of such men were also thoroughly

examined. The enquiry in regard to the architectural remains of Lahore, conducted in this way, has resulted in the achievement of two important results :—

1. The exact localities of some of the old buildings, monuments, palaces and gardens which embellished the imperial city of Lahore during the Moghul period, but which were razed to the ground during the troublous time that followed the collapse of the Muhammadan power in the Panjáb, have been ascertained and described in the following pages in their proper places, and an account has been given of their founders, or the personages, known to Indian history, whose name were associated with them.

2. Full particulars about existing ancient buildings in and around Lahore have been ascertained.

The work, which deals with its subject from both a historical and a descriptive point of view, is divided into four chapters :—

Chapter I treats of the history of Lahore from the earliest known period to the present times. The principal incidents, relating to the lives of great men who flourished here in past ages, have been described so far as they relate to Lahore.

Chapter II is devoted to an account of the principal ancient architectural remains at Lahore and such other buildings and spots as claim attention on account, either of their elegance, or of the historical interest attaching to them. The Chapter aims at describing the changes which the city underwent at different periods, and its condition as witnessed by European travellers at various times, and gives an account of its old *Guzars*, or inhabited quarters, mentioned by Muhammadan writers.

Chapter III gives an account of modern buildings and institutions, and of its inhabitants, their principal customs, pursuits of arts and industries, their public amusements, games, fairs, &c. It shows to what extent British civilisation has affected the people of the country in general, and the metropolis of the Panjáb in particular.

Chapter IV deals with the subject of the antiquities of Lahore ; and in this connection I have shown how Buddhism, exiled from its home in Central Asia, affected the Panjáb, and described the principal Buddhist monuments in the Central Museum of Lahore ; the coins possessed by it together with their inscriptions ; the objects of antiquarian interest and Panjáb products and industries represented in the Museum ; and other ancient objects connected with the history of the capital of the Panjáb.

The sources of information have been acknowledged in their proper places. For the modern period and an account of the leading families of Lahore, I am chiefly indebted to Sir Lepel Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs* (and he who undertakes to write on the Panjáb families, must seek for light in the pages of this learned work) ; the *Panjáb Gazetteer* ; the Settlement Reports

of the Lahore District ; the life of Lord Lawrence, by Bosworth Smith ; the *Imperial Gazetteer* of Sir W. W. Hunter ; the Provincial and Educational Reports, and other public correspondence and documents kindly placed at my disposal by the Heads of Departments concerned.

My acknowledgments are also due to J. L. Kipling Esq., C. I. E., Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore, for the invaluable aid I received from him in collecting materials for this work from the Central Museum, that mine of objects of ancient interest ; to D. G. Maclagan, Esq., C. S., and to Rai Bahádur Ganga Ram, Executive Engineer, Lahore, Provincial Division, who, with the kind permission of E. E. Oliver, Esq., Superintending Engineer, 3rd Circle, most courteously placed at my disposal, the official records relating to the construction of modern buildings which materially assisted me in compiling an account of them. I am also obliged to the authorities of the Panjáb Northern State Railway, whose courtesy enabled me to have access to the Railway Workshops and to prepare my notes on the spot, for which statistics were supplied to me.

I venture to hope that a cordial welcome may be accorded to this volume, dealing with the history and antiquities of a city of such importance in India as Lahore is admitted to be. It must, however, be understood that I have laid a panorama of the city before the reader with an object far more important than the mere gratification which the study of a new work on a subject like the one treated of in it, may afford. It is to give a useful lesson to my countrymen, that they may, by its study, be enabled to look impartially around them and see of Lahore *that which is really worth seeing in it, seeing and carefully weighing.*

فاعتبروا اولي الابصار

“Take warning ye who have eyes!”

Such is the Arabic saying ; and so instructive, so full of meaning is it, that it would be well if all our young countrymen who have read the pages of this history, should take it to their hearts. It is a motto which should be inscribed in letters of gold on the frontispiece of every book on Indian history, for a great truth underlies it. No study better enables us to compare the condition of ourselves and those who surround us with that of our predecessors in ages gone by, than the study of history. No subject is more strikingly interesting, or truly instructive, than a retrospect of the past. From what has been said above, it will be manifest that, from the time of the earliest invaders from the north to that of Sháh Zamán, the last of the invaders who indulged in dreams of Indian conquest, Lahore has been treated as the bulwark of the Indian empire, and its viceroy as the sentinel on the real gateway of Hindustán. How many conquerors have fixed their eyes on this glittering prize, the very key to India! Here came Mahmúd, who, with his Tur-

kistán warriors, made thirty inroads into the unwarlike land of Hindustán. Here came the hordes of Changez Khán, the mighty lord of the pastoral world, who established an empire greater in extent than that possessed by Alexander or Augustus, an empire that extended from Tartary to Poland and Germany, and even to the shores of the Baltic. Then followed another world-wide conqueror, Tamerlane, that fire-brand of the universe, who left twenty-seven crowns to his descendants and decked Samarkand with the spoil of a thousand cities of Asia. The adventurous Sultán Babar, with his Turks; the fierce Nádir Sháh, with his Persian soldiers; the Abdali Ahmad Sháh, with his Afghán warriors, each in his turn, came and won this his first prize. It was a prize well worthy of the trouble and toil they had undergone. Mighty conquerors, powerful potentates, lords of millions of human beings, possessors of incalculable wealth and immeasurable treasures, masters of thrones and diadems, they, doubtless, were. But what marks of their conquest did they leave behind them in the country they visited? It is needless to say that fire and sword formed their vanguard as they came, and that the wailings of thousands of mothers who had been rendered childless, of widows who had been bereft of husbands and of orphans who had been left without protectors, followed their camp as they were leaving the country. Insatiable avarice, pride of conquest and thirst for dominion, which had been the moving power of their inroads, filled the country with consternation and misery. It was these motives that induced Mahmúd to march his armies against India and enabled Nádir to drench the streets of Delhi with the blood of its citizens, and to bear away in triumph jewels whose splendour had dazzled the eyes of Roe and Bernier, and the magnificent peacock throne on which the richest gems of Golkanda had been lavished.

But India was not destined to become a final prey to rapacious invaders from without, or tyrannical despots within. There were better days in store for her. After centuries of misrule and anarchy, the British, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, became the masters of the country. The real glory of that nation, the fame of their statesmen, does not lie in the subversion of kingdoms, in the humbling of mighty potentates, or in the ravaging of countries, but in this, that they have sheltered God's people, saved them from the rapacity of the tyrant, administered equal laws to them, and made them happy, prosperous, strong and united; that they have applied their whole thoughts and energies to the patronage of arts, science, letters, trade, agriculture; have strived to make the nations committed to their care wise, prosperous and contented; and because they act on the motto that sovereigns are the shadow of God on earth, and that, as such, their duty is to be the benefactors, not the destroyers, of the human race.

The study of antiquities is a subject in which all enquiring minds, which are not wholly engrossed by some favorite occupation, must feel more

or less interest. The investigation of the past is a source of curiosity and gratification to all minds ; but it is upon the reflecting mind that the deepest impressions are produced by such studies. Such a mind will review the past with care, weigh former events with the existing state of things, and draw from the comparison deductions of the greatest value and worth. And I wish to tell to my young countrymen that ' Lahore was not ever a garden as it is now.' Surely, to an eye accustomed to the crowded streets of Anarkali, or the busy markets within the modern city, its thriving industries, its commercial activity and its speculative trade ; to an eye familiar with the varied and bustling scenes of a station of the wondrous railways uniting the capital of the Panjáb with the great centres of Indian civilisation, where may be seen men from the furthest north and the remotest east of the empire, all well-behaved, peaceful and contented ; to an eye habituated to the sight of trees and gardens outside the city gates, and to the fair canal which flows by their side, the spectacle presented by Lahore two score and five years ago would have been most repulsive. Where have now sprung up in Donald Town and the old and new Malls, picturesque houses, and the establishments of European and Native firms, replete with the choicest and richest commodities of Europe and Asia, there wandered the jackal and the beast of prey. The immediate outskirts of the city were studded with filthy ditches and deep hollows and excavations. The *Shahid Ganj*, where the Patháns now bring horses from the cities of Asia for sale and exhibit their delicious Cabul fruit, and soft and smooth Persian carpets, was a nest of robber *Nihangs*, or *Akalis*, "the immortals" who defied even the power of Ranjit Singh in its zenith. The dreary expanse of crumbling ruins and tottering walls and old mounds, the desolate and barren tracts, strewn for miles around with *debris*, where there stood not a tree to give shelter to a weary traveller, have, through the magic wand of British civilisation, been charmed into a scene of life again.

What a marvellous change has the comparatively short period of British rule brought about ! It is interesting to compare the present with the past condition of things, for, if this is done impartially, it is impossible not to be struck with admiration. An age of violence and rapine has given place to one of peace and harmony ; an age of ignorance has been followed by one of enlightenment. It is an age of exhibitions, of progress and of prosperity unprecedented in the annals of this great empire. The days may be within the recollection of many, when people travelling from Lahore to Amritsar used to embrace each other and shed tears, not being quite certain whether they would reach their destination alive and return home in safety. And what do we find now, through the influence of British rule and civilisation ? The tribes that once thirsted for one another's blood, the warlike nations that spread havoc in the country and resisted the power of the once-dreaded Moghals, the people who could not meet together on the same platform but with drawn swords, now take their seats like friends under the same

roof of a railway carriage, and travel peacefully from one end of the country to another. The great victories of science and of political wisdom have linked together unruly tribes and nations, bound them in one common bond of subjection, and made them all dread the law and respect order and settled government. These important ends have been achieved not by the use of weapons of war, threats or coercion, but by measures of conciliation, confidence and benevolence, which have inspired lawless tribes with a taste for arts and civilised life.

The story has been told in the following pages of an impostor, in Akbar's time, who pretended that, if he called aloud to any one from one bank of the Ravi, he would be heard distinctly on the other. Contrast the pretensions of the impostor of Akbar's time with the wonders accomplished by means of the telephone and electric wire, and you will see how far science has progressed.

I have, in these pages, given you a full description of the railway workshops. Consider the great works executed there by means of science, and compare them with the rude and unpolished works of your own smiths. But for our knowledge that the ponderous works turned out there are the results of science, we should have thought they were the works of giants.

It is not necessary to dwell, at any considerable length, on the vast changes that have taken place, and the improvements that have been effected, in the country since it became part and parcel of the great Indian Empire. But what must be deemed to be the most valued prize of British rule is the liberty it has conferred on all its subjects, whatever their creed or nationality. In the same royal mosque of Lahore from the high pulpit of which, in the time of the saintly king Sháh Alam, the successor of the crafty and ambitious Aurangzeb, had been seen rolling down the floor the head of a *Shiah* pontiff that had been cut off by an infuriated *Sunni* congregation, for his daring to utter an offensive expression, in the same royal mosque which Ranjit desecrated, and where he kept his powder-magazine, the Mussulman community now peacefully enjoy their ablutions, make the call to prayers, and offer their worship without restraint to the Creator. In the same streets of Lahore where bloody feuds were the order of the day, we see both Muhammadans and Hindus, holding friendly meetings for the furtherance of national causes. Having forgotten their mutual broils in common subjection to the British, they vie with each other in loyalty to the Crown which has given peace to all; and they have been attached to the British Crown by a conquest over their minds, which is by far the most durable, as well as the most rational, mode of dominion. In the same streets we see now leaders of different religious sects preaching the doctrines of their respective religions, and holding discourses on innumerable theological subjects. It has been said of Akbar's time that he held meetings at Lahore (where his religious ideas are believed to have undergone

a material change) in which religious questions were freely discussed. But meetings of the sort, which the great Akbar held in his Cabinet chamber, guarded by soldiers clad in armour and steel, and which he personally supervised and took good care to see that decency and order prevailed, are now held in the streets. The presence only of a constable on duty, who has to patrol a long bazar, is generally sufficient to secure the preservation of order; and that one petty officer of the lowest grade on the mayor's staff, walking in the street in quite an unconcerned way, commands more dread and awe than the thousands of troops that had usually to be deputed to keep order at religious gatherings like those which we now see as matters of daily occurrence in the crowded streets of Lahore. The members of these assemblies dare not interfere with one another's action. They all have perfect liberty of action so long as they remain orderly and do not exceed the legitimate bounds of discussion, but any infringement of these rules is forthwith punished by the proper tribunals.

Ranjit Singh, as the study of these pages must have shown, converted all mosques and places of Muhammadan worship in the Sikh capital into powder-magazines, or workshops for the manufacture of fire-arms and ammunitions. The British Government have most generously and justly restored all such places to their Muhammadan subjects, and thus won their heartfelt gratitude. The loyal subjects now offer up their prayers in these places of worship. Shrines and mausoleums of Hindu and Muhammadan saints that had to be abandoned by the votaries of the Brahma, the disciples of the Gurf, or the followers of the Prophet, through dread of the authorities and their oppressive and arbitrary proceedings, are now thriving, and have become places of public resort. Streams of pious Mussalmans, with rosaries in their hands, multitudes of orthodox Hindus with the sacred saffron mark on their foreheads, and crowds of Sikh devotees dressed in their peculiar attire, repair to these places to scatter a few flowers over a sacred shrine, or to offer up prayers, or do some other act enjoined by their respective religions.

We have already referred to Akbar's munificent rule and the liberality of his sentiments. But we may say, without fear of contradiction, that, in the most palmy days of India before the British rule, neither life nor honour had ever been safe. To prove this, we need only refer the reader to the account given in these pages of a governor of Lahore in Akbar's time, whose son at one time buried alive in the ground, with the dead, a servant of his, for no offence of his, but simply to enlighten himself on the subject of what becomes of the dead after burial, while at another time the same worthy had the brutality to carry off, in the streets of Lahore, the bride from a Hindu wedding party, who, when they laid their grievance before the father, in the hope of obtaining redress, were told that "they ought to be glad that they were now related to the *Subedâr* of Lahore." Such was the kind of justice administer-

ed in the capital of the Empire (as Lahore had been in Akbar's time), in the best days of Indian rule.

Deep must have been the impression of all thinking men, when, the other day, they witnessed the anniversary of a local Mohammadan Association celebrated with pomp, in the well-known *haveli* of Rajá Dhian Singh, in the city. The scene was truly striking. The halls of the same house which had been a hotbed of intrigues of the most revolting character but a short space of forty years ago, resounded with the orations of the leaders of the Muhammadan community, exhorting their co-religionists to provide means of higher education among them, by which means only they could expect to compete successfully with the other races of India, some of whom had, by perseverance and energy, qualities wanting in themselves, left them far behind in the field of competition that had sprung up in India for advancement in life. Such things could not even have been dreamt of in Lahore forty years ago.

Will not the young reader be convinced now of what I have maintained before, namely, that 'Lahore was not ever a garden as it is now?' And when it is seen that it is not Lahore alone, the subject of the present record, that has thus been benefited by the British rule, but that, of the hundreds of large towns with which India teems, there is not one in which the same streams of wealth and happiness and the same fountains of prosperity and contentment have not flowed in as they have here, who can for a moment doubt the greatness of the nation which under the all-wise decree of Providence, is ruling over the destinies of this vast empire?

It is the protection afforded to all classes of its subjects, whatever their nationality or religious persuasion, and the equal justice done to them all, great and small, that has made the name of the British nation glorious and great throughout the length and breadth of the earth. It is these high virtues, these liberal sentiments, that have enabled it, in less than one hundred years from its first arrival in India, to extend its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snows of the Himalayas, and, having united under its beneficent laws 250 millions of subjects (more than double the number which Gibbon estimated for the Roman Empire in the height of its glory), to carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Brahmaputra, and far to the west of Attock—that "forbidden" river of the ancients—to dictate terms of peace at the gates of Peking, reduce to subjection Assam and Burma—where the arms of the greatest of the conquerors on earth had never before reached,—seat its vassal on the throne of Cabul, become the arbiter of the empire of the Abdali Ahmad, and win with honour that peerless inestimable diamond the "Mountain of Light" which the stern Nádir had the hardihood to wrest from the Moghal emperor, Muhammad Sháh, and which, later on, Ranjit Singh had the disgrace to

plunder from his helpless Afghan guest, the king Shuja-ul-Mulk. No wonder, then, if its skilful pioneers have surveyed the dreary defiles of Khyber, its gallant soldiers penetrated into interminable Indian wastes and deserts and traversed the highest passes of the snow-clad mountains, its engineers carried railways to the extremities of the empire, throwing open countries that had hitherto been sealed, and its travellers, by their daring exploits and intelligent researches, raised their country to a rank in scientific exploration unequalled by the greatest of nations that claim to bear the palm of civilisation in the world.

Now, if I have succeeded in proving to the young reader that 'Lahore was not ever a garden as it is now,' even in the days of its best prosperity, I trust he will bear in mind my advice, given at the outset of these remarks, that he will not behold with indifference, the vast changes that have been brought about in the city of his birth or suffer himself to be an unconcerned spectator of the great improvements that have been effected in it, but will learn such useful lessons from them as will make him a better citizen and a better subject. And if this my object in compiling the present volume is gained, I shall have reason to rejoice that the labour bestowed on it has not been in vain.

GURDASPUR,
April 24th, 1892.

M. L.

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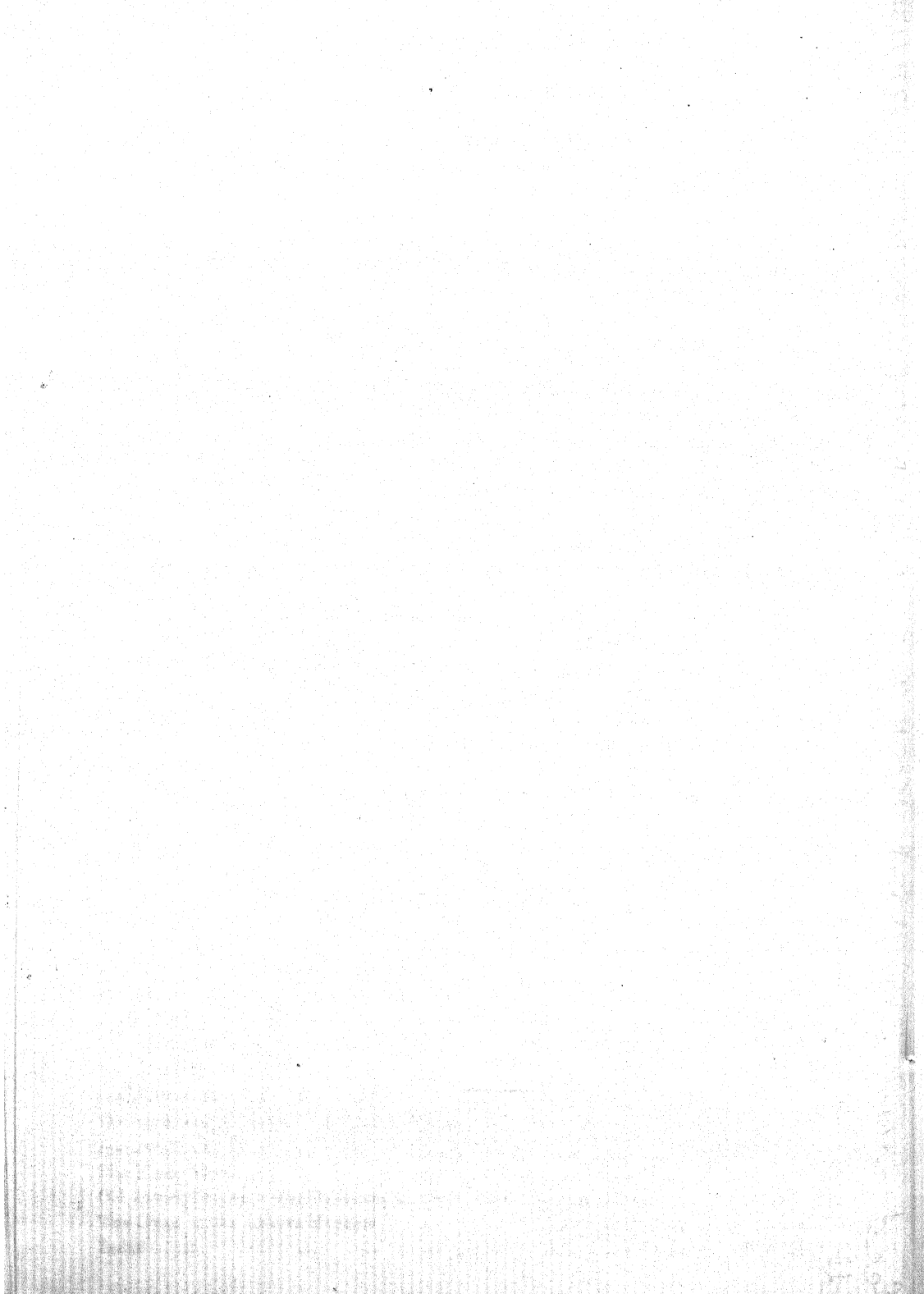
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CHAPTER I.

LAHORE.

HISTORICAL.

Hindu traditions.—The mythical founder of Loháwar, or Lahore, was Lov or Loh,* one of the two sons of Rámá, the hero of the famous epic-loom the Ramayaná, the other son, Kash, having, according to the same tradition, founded the sister town of Kusáwar, or Kasúr. Its name is associated with the age of chivalry of the Hindus, the legends of the martial prowess of their remote ancestors and the traditions of their ancient civilization. In the old annals of Kashmír and Rájputaná, we find mention of Lahore as a Hindu principality. The solar Rájput princes of Central India are said to have descended from Kanekson, a king of that race, who, migrating from Lahore, became the founder of a royal line. To the present day one of the city gateways bears the name of a tribe, the Bhátis, which, though inhabiting Jasselmere to the far south, yet point, with the Solankhi tribe of Análhára Pattan, to the city of Lahore as the seat of their earlier settlement. The Deshwa Bhágá, a compilation from the Puráns, gives an account of a sanguinary battle fought at the end of the Dwarpar, or Brazen Age, between the troops of Bánmal, Rája of Lahore, described as a mighty king, and Bhim Sen, who, with his army of 10,000 cavalry, defeated the Rája, and, after three days' fight, took him prisoner and made his kingdom tributary to his own. The ballad poetry of the northern border commemorates the "forest near Lahore," then called Udinagar, as the battle-field where the monster Rákhas was slain, in a fight with Rasálú, son of Sal Vahn, the Rája of Sialkot.†

The origin of Lahore and Kasúr.

Kanekson, the Hindu Rájput Prince.

The Bháti tribe.

Mention of Lahore in the Hindu Puráns.

The inference to be drawn from the above and other traditions of a similar nature is that Lahore was founded by a race of Rájput princes who established themselves in the west of India at an early date, and it receives further corroboration from the fact that, when that country was first visited by the Mahomedan arms, Lahore formed the capital of an important Hindu principality which exercised feudal power over other States.‡ That there were frequent changes of dynasty at Lahore, as in most other Eastern countries, is only probable. Mr. Thornton, who has very ably discussed the question in his work on Lahore, thinks that the earliest princes were the Rájputs

Lahore probably founded by Rájputs from Western India.

* A *mandir*, dedicated to Loh, may be still seen in the north-western corner of the fort. The descent is by a wooden staircase.

† Thornton's Lahore.

‡ *Ibid.*

from Ajúdhíá, of the same family as those at Gujrat and Már-wár. At some subsequent time, the date of which is unfixed, the government seems to have been assumed by other Rajpút tribes, such as the Solankhís and the Bhátis. At the time of the early Mahomedan conquests, we find Lahore in possession of the Chúhán princes of the royal family of Ajmere; and during the later invasions of the tenth century it was in the hands of a reigning family of the Brahman.*

Its Hindu
name.

Name.—In the *Deshwá Bhágá*, previously mentioned, Lahore is called *Lavpor*, which at once points to its origin from *Lav*, the son of *Rámá*, while in the ancient annals of *Rájputáná* the name given is *Loh Kot*, meaning “the fort of Loh,” which, again, has reference to its mythical founder, *Rámá’s* son.

Mahomedan
name.

Turning to the Mahomedan period, the best authorities on the early Mahomedan conquests of India, are the historians of Scindh, for it was in that quarter that the first storm of those conquests under the *Khalifát* burst. *Fatuhúl Baldán*, believed to be one of the

Mention of
Lahore by the
early Arab
geographers.

earliest Arabic Chronicles, which gives an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Scindh, calls Lahore by the name of *A’lahwár*. The book, which is the work of *Ahmad bin Yahya*, surnamed *Al-Biladuri*, who lived at the Court of *Baghdád* towards the middle of ninth century of the Christian era, in the *Khalifat* of *Al-m’tamid-Billah*, is frequently cited by *Ibn-i-Haukal*, *Almasudi* and other ancient Arabic geographers. In times as early as the

Expeditions
in the time of
the early Kha-
lifs.

Khalifát of *Umar*, an expedition was sent under *Hákam*, son of *Abul’asi*, of the tribe of *Sakif*, to *Barúz* (Broach) and *Debal*. During the reign of *Usmán*, *Hakím*, son of *Jahalla-al’ábdi*, was sent to the confines of *Hind* ‘in order to acquire knowledge and bring back information.’ In the beginning of the year 39 A. H. (659 A. D.), during the *Khalifat* of *Alí*, son of *Abú Tálib*, *Haras*, son of *Marral’Abdi*, proceeded, with the sanction of the *Khalif*, to the same frontier, as a volunteer. He reached *Kekán* (قیقان) in Scindh, was victorious and made captives, but was subsequently slain.

“In the year 44 A. H. (664 A.D.), and in the days of the *Khalif Mu’awiya*,” continues our author, “*Mohallab*, son of *Abú Safrá*, made war upon the same frontier, and advanced as far as *Banna* (*Bannú*) and *Aláwhar* (*Lahore*) which lie between *Multán†* and

* Thornton’s *Lahore*, p. 112.

† The early Arab geographers call *Multán* “*Farj*,” or “house of gold,” because *Mahomed*, son of *Kásam*, lieutenant of *Al Hajjaj*, found forty *bahárs* of gold in one house of the city, which was thenceforth called “house of gold.” A *bahár* equals 333 maunds. According to *Almasudi* it is the idol also known by the name of *Multán*. Pilgrims from distant places in India used to travel to

Cábul. The enemy opposed him and killed him and his followers."*

The great traveller Al-Idrisi, of Morocco, in his work the *Nuzhatulmushták-fi-Iftikharul Afák*, writing in the ninth century, calls it Loháwar لہاور. The termination 'Awar is a corruption of the Sanscrit word *Awarna*, meaning fort, and is affixed to many Indian towns, such as Sanáwar, Bijáwar, Pesháwar. Loháwar would, thus, simply mean "fort of Loh," and the name would establish its identity with the "Loh Kot" of the Hindu *Puránás*. Coincidence of Hindu legends with the accounts furnished by the early Arab geographers.

Abú Rehán Al-Biruni, in his celebrated work, *the Kanún*, speaking from his personal knowledge of the country at the time of Mahmúd's invasion, towards the close of the tenth century, mentions, in his description of the Himalayan mountains, that "they can be seen from Tacas (Taxila?) and Laháwar لہاور (Lahore)." M. Reinaud, in his *Fragments*, and Elliot, read it as Lauhaour لوهاور, Loháovar لہاوور, Lohárú لوہارو, and Lahor لہور.

Amír Khusrow, of Delhi, writing in the latter part of the thirteenth century, calls it Lahanúr in his well-known work the *Kiránus-sa'den*. He says:—

از حد سامانیہ تا لہانور هیچ عمارت نیست مگر دارقصور

"From the confines of Samania to Lahanúr,
There is no walled (city) but Kasúr."

Mr. Thornton suggests that Lahanúr is a corruption of Luhanagar, *núr* being the Dakhani form of *nagar*, as appears from the names of other towns, such as Kalanore, Kananore, &c.

Rashid-ud-din, in his *Jámiut Tawarikh*, completed in A.H. 710, or A.D. 1310, calls it Lahúr لاهور, "than which," he says, "there is no stronger fort."

Al Biruni also mentions Lahore as a Province, the capital of which was "Mandhukur" مندهوکور, on the east of the river Iráwá (Ravi). Baihanki calls it "Mandkákúr" مندکاکور.

Lahore is also called by the Mahomedan historians Lôhár, Lôher and Ráhwár, the origin of the last name being explained by the fact of its situation on the great imperial roads to Cábul, Kashmír and Agra.

In whatever form it may have been written by the early

Multán, carrying with them money, precious stones, aloe-wood and perfumes to fulfil their vows. The greater part of the king's revenue was derived from the offerings made to the idol Multán."

* Elliot's *Historians of India*, p. 116, Vol. I.

Mahomedan writers, it is manifest from the above summary that the name, Lahore, has clear reference to its founder, and that that founder was, in all probability, Loh, the son of Rámá.

Date of foundation.—The early history of Lahore is involved in so much obscurity that it is impossible to discover the exact date of its foundation. Of its Rajpút Hindu origin there can be little doubt. From the writings of eminent Arabic geographers and the early Mahomedan historians of Scindh, a *resumé* of which has been given above, it may, moreover, be fairly concluded that Lahore was a town of some importance during the early days of the *Khalifat*, or about the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era.

Conclusions
drawn by Co-
lonel Tod.

Colonel Tod in his *Annals of Rajistán*, assigns the middle of the second century as the date of the migration of Prince Kenekson from Lahore. The learned author, who, from the earliest period of his official connection with Rajistán, applied himself diligently to collecting and imploring its oldest historical records, bases his information on the sacred genealogy from the *Puránás*, the *Mahabhárat*, the poems of Chand, the voluminous historical records of *Jesselmír*, *Márwár* and *Mewár*, the genealogical rolls of antiquity, obtained from the tribal bards and priests, biographical anecdotes furnished by men of intellect in the country, and inscriptions calculated to reconcile dates :—"In short," writes the author, "every corroborating circumstance was treasured up which could be obtained by incessant research during sixteen years." From at least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, Colonel Tod finds Kanekson to be the founder of the *Mewár* dynasty, and assigns his emigration from Loh Kot (Lahore) to Dwarica in Samvat 201, or A.D. 145. The country of Ayuddhia (Oudh), of which Rámá was the monarch, is, in the ancient chronicles of the Hindus, called *Khushála*, from the mother of Rámá whose name was *Khushalia*. The first royal emigrant from Lahore is styled in the archives of the the Rána of *Mewár*, *Khushála putra*, 'son of *Khushála*.* From Loh, the son of Rámá, the Ránas of *Mewár* claim their descent. He built Lahore, the ancient Loh Kot, and 'his branch, from which the kings of *Mewár* are descended, resided there until Kanekson emigrated to Dwarica.† Of the period of this king's migration from Lahore there can, therefore, be no doubt.

The conclusions drawn by Colonel Tod, on the authority of the ancient scriptures of the Hindus, receive further corroboration from the classical writers of the East. It was about the time referred

* *Annals of Mewár*, p. 232, Vol. I.

† *Ibid.*

to by Colonel Tod as the probable period of Prince Kenekson's migration from Lahore, namely, the middle of the second century that Claudius Ptolemæus, surnamed Ptolemy, the celebrated astronomer and geographer, wrote his geography, which was used as a text-book by succeeding ages. He flourished in Alexandria in 139 A.D.; and there is evidence of his having been alive in 161 A.D. In his geography he mentions a city called Labokla, situated on the route between the Indus and Pálibothra, or Patáliputra (Patná), in a tract of country called Kasperia (Kashmír), described as extending along the rivers Bidástes (Jhelam), Sandabal or Chandra Bhágá (Chenab), and Adris (Ravi). This place, from its name and locality, Wilford would identify with Lahore. With this inference General Cunningham agrees, identifying Lahore with the Labokla of Ptolemy, and taking the first two syllables, Labo, to represent the name of Lava (or Lov), the son of Rámá.* The identification was, according to the same authority, first made in Kiepert's Map of India according to Ptolemy, which accompanied Lassen's 'Indische Alterthums Kunde.'

Identification of the Labokla of Ptolemy with Lahore.

The traveller, Alexander Burnes, noticing the traditions of Cábúl† in his travels writes of the foundation of Lahore:—"In Cábúl itself there are not exactly traditions of Alexander, but both Herát and Lahore are said to have been founded by the slaves of that conqueror, whom they call a prophet. Their names were Heri (the old name of Herát) and Lahore. Candahár is said to be an older city than either of these."‡

Traditions cited by Alexander Burnes.

But the entire absence of the name of Lahore, or any city with a name approaching it, which may be fairly identified with it, in the writings of the historians of Alexander, coupled with the fact that no coins of Indo-Bactrian or Indo-Scythic dynasties have been discovered at Lahore or in its neighbourhood, has led scholars to conclude that the city, if it existed at the time of Greek invasion, was of no importance up to, at least, the first century after Christ.§

Silence of Alexander's historians on the subject of Lahore or any place identical with it.

Bernier, who visited Lahore in 1664 A.D., suggests its identification with the ancient Bucephala.||

The view of Bernier.

* Compare Thornton's Lahore, p. 110, and Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 197. See also, on the same subject, Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. II, page 205, note.

† It is said that Cábúl was formerly named Zábúl, from a Kafir, or infidel king, who founded it; hence the name Zabúlistán.—Burnes's Travels into Bokhárd, &c., p. 148, Vol. I.

‡ Ibid.

§ Compare Thornton's Lahore, p. 109, with Hunter's Gazetteer, p. 414, Vol. VIII.

|| Travel's, p. 124, Vol. I, London, 1826.

Of Burnes.

Burnes would identify Lahore with Sanghálá, mentioned by Arrian and Curtius, the classical writers, as the stronghold of the Kathaeen or Khatri tribe. This is the Sanghálá of Alexander, mentioned also by Diadorus, and recognized as the *Sákala* of the Brahmans and the *Ságala* of the Budhists. But its position, 65 miles from the bank of the Hydraotes (Ravi), precludes the identity of its situation with that suggested by the enterprising traveller.

Presump-
tions.

Yet both Curtius and Arrian agree in stating that Alexander crossed the Hydraotes (Ravi) before advancing against Sanghálá to punish the insurgent Kathaeans, described as a "free Indian nation." There can, therefore, be no doubt that the conqueror crossed the Ravi in the immediate neighbourhood of Lahore, which "was most probably the position of his camp when he heard of the recusancy of the Kathaeen."* But it must have been a place of no importance at the time of the Macedonian invasion, or it would have, doubtless, been mentioned by the Greek writers.

The Chi-
nese pilgrim
Hwen Tsa-
ang's visit to
the Panjáb,
630 A. D.

When the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tshang, visited the Panjáb in 630 A.D., he found the walls of Sanghálá completely ruined, but their foundations still remained; and in the midst of the ruins he found a small portion of the old city, still inhabited by Buddhist monks, who studied the esoteric doctrines of Budha. According to the Chinese traveller, Táki, or Asarúr (believed by General Cunningham to be the Pimparáma of Alexander), about two miles to the south of the high road between Lahore and Pindi Bhatían (or 45 miles from the former and 24 from the latter), was the capital of the Panjáb in A.D. 633.

Now, the pilgrim, in his itinerary,† makes no mention of Lahore, or any city answering its name or description, though he was in Chinapatti (the modern Patti in Kasúr) for 14 months, and Jalandhra (the Kulindrine of Ptolemy) for four months, and had travelled the whole country from Kashmír to Pragia, Ujjen and Kanno. He notes that he halted for a whole month (November 633 A.D.) at a large town on the eastern frontier of Táki. General Cunningham would identify this large town with Kasúr, as the kingdom extended to the Biás river on the east, and the great city should be looked for on the line of the Biás, and not on the Ravi.

Probable
date of foun-
dation.

From the mention, however, of the name of Lahore in the geography of Ptolemy before mentioned, Mr. Thornton approxi-

* Ancient Geography of India, by Major-General Cunningham, p. 191.

† Doctor Hunter, writing of Lahore, says, in his *Imperial Gazetteer* (p. 415, Vol. VIII), that "Hwen Tshang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, notices the city in his itinerary." In the itinerary of Hwen Tshang, however, published by General Cunningham, as Appendix I to his "Ancient Geography of India," no mention of Lahore exists.

mately fixes the date of its foundation "at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era."*

Lahore before the Mahomedan conquest.—We have observed before, on the authority of the Chinese traveller, Hwen Tshang, that Táki, or Asarúr, was the capital of the Panjáb in the seventh century. According to Major-General Cunningham, it was the name of the capital, as well as of the kingdom of the Panjáb at that time.† The more ancient capital was She-kie-lo, identified by Professor Lassen with the Sákala of the Mahabhárata and the Sanghálá of Arrian, within a few miles of Táki. Sákala was the ancient capital of the powerful tribe of Tákas, whose country was, after them, called Tákadesá. The kingdom of Táki comprised the whole plains of the Panjáb, from the Indus to the Biás, and from the foot of the hills to the junction of the five rivers below Multán, and embraced several of the most celebrated places in ancient India, some famous in the wars with Alexander, others renowned in Buddhist history. Loháwar, or Lahore, was one of these, and with Kusawar (Kasúr) and Chinapatti (Patti), was included in the Bári Doáb, or the country between the Biás and the Ravi.

The ancient Hindu capital of the Panjáb.

Lahore a principal city of the ancient kingdom of the Hindus in the Panjáb.

Major-General Cunningham identifies the Táfaك طافك of the merchant Solemán, the earliest Mahomedan author who visited the East before 851 A. D., as the Táki of the Chinese pilgrim. In the Geography of Almasúdi, the "Herodotus of the Arabs," it is called Táfan طافنى. Both Abú Rehán and Rashid-ud-din, who has borrowed from Al-Biruni, call it Tákishar, and agree in stating that "the great snowy mountains of Kelarjik (Larjik), which resembled Demavend in its cupola form, could be seen from the boundaries of Tákishar and Loháwar." Tákishar and Loháwar are here mentioned, as cities. Thus, the mention of Táka along with

Presumption that "Lahore" was contemporary with "Taka" of the Chinese pilgrim.

* On the assumption that the "great city" alluded to by Chinese pilgrim in his travels was Lahore, Mr. Thornton assumes elsewhere (*vide* p. 112 of his work on Lahore) that the "great Brahmanical city of Hwen Tshang was the city of Lahore," and that "it must have been founded between the first and seventh centuries of the Christian era." Major-General Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography* (page 198), however, shows clearly that the Chinese traveller could not have visited Lahore, and that the "great city" alluded to by him was the modern town of Kasúr. The conclusion, therefore, in regard to the probable foundation of Lahore in the seventh century, based as it is on the belief in the Chinese pilgrim's visit to Lahore towards the middle of that century, would not, for obvious reasons, hold good, and the fair inference to be drawn from the writings of the Greek geographers, coupled with the testimony afforded by the ancient chronicles of Kashmir and Rajistán is, that, whatever its exact locality, Lahore must have been founded towards the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era.

† The name "Panjáb" meaning "five waters" is of Persian origin, and was adopted only on the Mahomedan conquest of that country. In Mahabhárata the country was called Takadesá, or the country of the Tákas. The old Nágrí characters which are still in use throughout the country from Bámián to the banks of the Jamná, are called Tákari. The "Rája Tarangini," the ancient chronicle of Kashmir, was written in the Tákari characters.

Lahore by the early Arab geographers of admitted authority, shows that both these cities existed contemporaneously, and since Táka flourished in the seventh century, it is probable that Lahore must have flourished then too.

Lahore the capital of the Brahman dynasty.

The city temporarily abandoned as capital of the Province.

Lahore seems to have risen to importance in the eighth and ninth century, when it became the capital of a reigning family of the Brahmans who, in the tenth century, were invaded by Sabuktágín and his son Mahmúd. Owing to change of dynasty, or its exposed situation on the road from Cábul to India, the city of Lahore seems to have been deserted sometime before the invasion of Mahmúd, for, in contemporary Mahomedan histories, mention of Lahore exists as a Province. The *Hadikatul Akalim* of Murtaza Husain* expressly mentions the fact of the transfer of the seat of government from Lahore to Sialkot, or Sálwanpúr, built by Rája Sálwan in the time of Raja Vikramajit, where the Bhátis subsequently established themselves. As stated before Al-Biruni mentions Mandhokar (or Mandhokot) as the capital of Lahore, the Province. Mr. Thornton identifies Mandhokot, with Mankot, a place near Sialkot, and believes it to be the capital of the last native dynasty. This belief is strengthened by the fact that Sher Sháh, the *Súr* Afghán, seriously contemplated the removal of the seat of government from Lahore to that very place. The date of the desertion of Lahore may be approximately fixed at the tenth century.

But is rebuilt by Mahmúd of Ghazni.

From Sialkot, or its vicinity, the seat of government was removed to Lahore at the period of Mahmúd's invasion, in the beginning of the eleventh century, when that conqueror, having rebuilt the city, established a garrison in a fort built by him.†

Summary of the various accounts regarding its name and probable date of foundation.

The result of enquiries into the pre-Mahomedan history of Lahore may be briefly recapitulated thus:—That Lahore, the Lavpor and Lohkot of the Hindus, the Loháwar, Lohár, Lahánur, or Ráhwar, of the Mahomedans, and possibly the Labokla of Ptolemy,

* The author says:—

و چون برور ایام معبودی آن روی با نسطاط نهاد دارالحکومت شهر
میاالکوت مقرر گشت

"And when by lapse of time, the population of this city decreased, the seat of government was established in the town of Sialkot."—*Hadikatul Akalim*, ch. III, p. 146.

† The historian Murtaza Husain says:—

و چون سلطان معبود غزنوی فتح هند نمود ملک ایاز بابادی آن
کوشیده و شهرت بتجدید و قلعہ بخت تعمیر ساخت

"And when Sultan Mahmúd of Ghazni conquered Hind, Malik Ayaz made endeavours to populate it and he built a new city and a fort of solid masonry work."—*Hadikatul Akalim*, ch. III, p. 146.

was founded by an ancient race of Rajpúts towards the end of the first, or beginning of the second, century after Christ; that it rose to importance in the eighth and ninth century, becoming the capital of a powerful principality and the parent of other colonies; that, owing to a change of dynasty, the seat of government was transferred to Sialkot in the tenth century; but, in the beginning of the eleventh, it became again the seat of Mahomedan government in the north-west of the Panjáb. Mr. Thornton thinks it more probable that it was founded as early as the beginning of the second century, and his conclusions are fully supported by the previous writings of Wilford and the subsequent researches of so eminent an authority as Major-General Cunningham.

The Ghaznvide dynasty.—When Alaptagín, the celebrated Turki slave and General of Abdul Malik, the last of the Sámání kings of Bokhára, who ruled over the destinies of Central Asia for 120 years, died, in 977 A. D., he was succeeded by Sabuktagín, his General, also a slave, who had married his daughter. Having subdued and annexed Candahár, Sabuktagín crossed the Indus, to invade the kingdom of Lahore, then ruled by Jaypál, a Brahman prince, of ancient lineage. A battle was fought near Lamghán, a 'city celebrated for its great strength, and abounding in wealth,'* at the mouth of the valley which extends from Peshawar to Cábul, in which the Hindus were defeated with great loss. The Hindu Rája surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay 1,000,000 *dirhams* of royal stamp as the price of peace; but, no sooner had the victor retraced his steps to Ghazni, than Jaypál refused to fulfil this part of the engagement, and even had the audacity to cast into prison the messengers who had accompanied him to Lahore to receive the stipulated ransom.

Sabuktagin
invades Lahore.

The battle
of Lamghán.

Defeat of
the Hindus.

The perfidy of the Rája of Lahore brought Sabuktagin a second time on to the soil of the Panjáb, and a second battle was fought, in which the confederate armies of the Indian Rájás, numbering in all 100,000 horse and a prodigious number of foot soldiers,† were defeated with dreadful slaughter. The whole country up to the Indus was taken possession of by the victors.

Second invasion of the Panjáb by Sabuktagin.

On the death of Sabuktagin, in 997 A. D., his son, the celebrated Mahmúd, after a disputed succession, ascended the throne of Ghazni. From his very childhood, Mahmúd was bent on extirpating idolatry, and establishing the religion of the Prophet on the

Mahmúd,
the successor
of Sabuktagin.

* *Tarikh-i-Yamini* of Al-utbi.

† *Farishta*. According to Al-utbi they were scattered like ants and locusts.—*Tarikh-i-Yamini*.

He takes
the field
against Jay-
pál.
Defeat of
Jaypál's ar-
my.

land beyond the Indus. He took the field against Jaypál, his father's old adversary, and a battle was fought near Peshawar on 27th November 1001 A. D., in which the Indian army was totally defeated and pursued to Bhatinda. A great number of the Hindus were taken prisoners, among them being Rája Jaypál and a number of his kinsmen. These were subsequently released, on the Rája's paying a heavy ransom, and renewing his promises of tribute. Around his neck were ten necklaces of jewels, one of which alone was valued at eighty thousand pounds, which all became the property of the victor. The unfortunate prince, being under the superstitious belief that his repeated disasters were due to some crime which might be expiated by self-sacrifice, abdicated the throne in favor of his son Anangpál, and, mounting a funeral pile, which he had himself caused to be constructed outside the walls of his capital, set it on fire with his own hands, and thus met a death to which he had devoted himself. Mahmúd returned to Ghazni after establishing a Mahomedan governor in the Panjáb.

His self-
immolation.

Anangpál,
son of Jaypál.

Mahmúd
extends his
conquests in
the Panjáb.

During the next three years Mahmúd captured the important city of Multán, the chief of which, though a Mussalman, had formed a close alliance with Anangpál, reduced the whole of the Peshawar valley and the greater part of Sindh, and made every sovereign from Kashmír to the mouth of the Indus his tributary.

The battle
of Peshawar.

In 1008, Anangpál, stimulated by the remonstrances of the priests to make a great effort to recover their lost independence and drive the foreigners out of the country of their birth, entered into a confederacy with the Hindu Rájas of India; and a great battle, which decided the fate of the Panjáb, was fought on the fields of Peshawar, between the troops of Mahmúd and the allied Indian armies. The Hindus fought with great valour and resolution, and the Mahomedans were on the point of being routed, 3,000 to 4,000 of their number having been killed in the battle by the furious charge of the Ghakkars, a wild mountain tribe, the ancestors of the modern Játs. But the tide of war suddenly turned. The elephant on which Anangpál rode, and which had been directed to profit by the confusion, was terrified by the burning naphtha balls and arrows, and fled from the field. The Hindus, believing they had been deserted by their sovereign, took to flight and dispersed in every direction, being vigorously pursued by the Mussalmans, who put great numbers of them to the sword.

Utter rout
of the Hin-
dus.

The kingdom of Lahore, though closely contiguous to the Ghazni capital, had remained independent during the last fifty years that had elapsed since the first invasion of the Indian territory by

Sabuktagín. Anangpál was succeeded in the government of Lahore by his son Jaypál II. The young prince was so ill-advised as to oppose the march of the Sultán's army to Kannoj. This conduct on the part of the Rájá of Lahore, afforded Mahmúd a pretext for obtaining possession of this important key to India. Hastening from Kashmír, whither he had proceeded, he marched towards the metropolis of the Panjáb at the head of an immense army. The young Rájá, finding himself unable to face the veteran army of the Sultán, abandoned the city and the neighbouring territory, and fled helpless to Ajmere. Lahore was sacked by the victors, and thenceforward permanently attached to the empire of Ghazni. Thus was a permanent garrison for the first time established east of the Indus, the Hindu principality of Lahore for ever extinguished, and the foundation laid of the future Mahomedan empire in India. The event happened in 1002 A. D.

Jaypál II.

Lahore permanently attached to the empire of Ghazni, 1002 A. D.

During the reign of Maudúd, grandson of Mahmúd, a coalition having been formed among the Hindu Rájás of Delhi and the surrounding countries, they overran the Panjáb and laid siege to Lahore. The city was defended with desperation by the Mahomedan garrison. The Mahomedans suffered greatly for want of supplies, famine prevailed, and no succour from without could be obtained. The Mahomedans, disdaining to yield to a nation whom they had so often beaten in the field, at last made a desperate *sortie*, and the Hindus raised the siege and precipitately retired, 1045 A. D. This was the last attempt of the Hindus to recover the sovereignty of Lahore.

Maudúd.

Failure of the last attempt of the Hindus to recover the principality of Lahore, 1045 A. D.

The Seljukian Tartars, under their great sovereigns, Toghrul Beg and Alp Arslan, in the meanwhile, established an empire over all the country between the Euphrates and the Jaxartes, and the Ghaznvide Sultáns, having been deprived of their ancestral possessions, removed the seat of government to Lahore. During the reign of Masud II (1098-1114 A.D.), Lahore became the real capital of the Ghaznavi dynasty, and their possessions in the Panjáb became consolidated.

Lahore becomes the capital of the Ghaznvide dynasty.

Sultán Behráh.

Balin, the viceroy of Lahore.

During the reign of Behráh Sultán, (1118 to 1152 A. D.) Balin,* the viceroy of Lahore, aimed at independent sovereignty. The Sultán made two expeditions to chastise him, and was victorious on both occasions. "But God punished him," writes the historian Minhaj-us-Seraj, "for his ingratitude. He, with his ten sons and horses, fell into a quagmire on the day of battle, and, being thus engulfed, was effectually disposed of."

* Called by Minhaj-us-Seraj, Mahomed Behalim.

Khusrow Shah.

His death, 1160 A.D.

He is succeeded by Khusrow Malik, his son.

After the capture of Ghazni by the Ghorian Sultán Ala-ud-dín, Khusrow Sháh, the son of Sultán Behráam, reigned at Lahore for two years.* He died at Lahore in the year 1160, and was succeeded by his son Khusrow Malik, surnamed Taj-ud-doula Sultán Jahan,† destined to be the last of the mighty race of Sabuktágín who was to hold royal power.

The Ghazni Sultáns, a tolerant race.

The Ghazni Sultáns seem to have been a tolerant race, and they ruled the Panjáb mildly. They employed the Hindus in their cavalry, and some of them even adopted Hindu titles, which they inscribed on their coins. Lahore during the reign of Sultán Mahmúd, was called Mahmúdpur; and this was the name inscribed on the coins struck by Mahmúd at Lahore.

The ancestors of Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori.

The Ghorian and the Slave dynasties.—Shaháb-ud-dín, surnamed Mahomed Ghori, generally considered the founder of the Mahomedan empire in India, was the brother of Sultán Ghias-ud-dín, the successor of Sef-ud-dín, the son of Ala-ud-dín, Sultán of Ghor. Being despatched to India by his brother to annex the provinces which belonged to the subverted dynasty of Ghazni, he conquered Multán and the fort of Uch, celebrated in history as the scene of Alexander's memorable attack and wound. Having then conquered all the provinces of the Indus, he twice besieged Khusrow Malik in his capital of Lahore; but that prince offered such a determined resistance in his strong retreat that the invader was on both occasions forced to retire. The crafty Ghorian Sultán at length had

He besieges Khusrow Malik at Lahore.

A stratagem.

recourse to a stratagem. Khusrow had sent his son Mahomed, as a hostage for his own good behaviour, to the Court of Ghori Sultán. Having given out that he had every confidence in the good faith of Khusrow, and, that his object thenceforward was to turn his arms against the Seljuks, he sent the prince back, with a gorgeous escort by easy marches to Lahore. Khusrow Malik, being thus entirely thrown off his guard, marched from Lahore to embrace his son. Mahomed, who had in the meanwhile assembled an army of 20,000 horse, as if for operations in Khorasán, marched with celerity by a circuitous and unfrequented route, thus interposing himself between Khusrow and his capital. His camp having been surrounded, Khusrow was compelled to surrender. The event happened in 1186, A. D. Khusrow was confined in a strong castle, but, on the alleged prediction of some astrologer, was, with all his family, put to death, and the dynasty of the great Mahmúd was thus for ever extinguished. Lahore was soon after occupied without any resistance.

Khusrow put to death with all his family.

* Rouzatus-Safá.

† Tabakáti Nasiri.

Sultán Shaháb-ud-dín made war on Prithi Rai (or Pithora), Rája of Ajmere, the head of the Chuhan Rajpúts, and was wounded in the great battle of Narain, on the Sarsuti river, by the lance of Gobind Rai of Delhi. The incident affords proof of the valour and martial prowess of the Afghan king, as well as of the heroism and prodigious strength of the Rajpút General. The former was on horseback when he attacked the war elephant of Govind Rai, and, with the strength of a lion, in one stroke knocked two of his adversary's teeth down his throat. The Rai returned the blow forthwith, wounding the king severely in the arm with his lance, and the latter's life was saved only through the devotion of a brave young Khiljai, who, clasping his master round the chest, spurred on the horse and bore him from the midst of the fight.* His army was defeated and pursued for forty miles, while he himself was carried almost insensible to Lahore.† Seven times did this brave Hindu Rája, the representative of the Aryan chivalry, carry his arms to the very gates of Lahore,‡ but he was finally defeated and put to death by the Moslem king, 1193 A. D. On his recovery from the wound received at the battle of Narain, the Sultán disgraced those Omerahs who had fled from the battle-field, by compelling them to walk round the city of Ghor whither he had returned, with the nose-bags of their chargers fastened round their necks, as if they were donkeys; in the meanwhile giving them the option of eating the fodder, or having their heads struck off with the sabre.

Deeds of
prodigious
valour.

Meanwhile the Ghakkars, a wild tribe inhabiting the mountains north of the Panjáb, availing themselves of the Sultán's absence at Khowrazm, overran the Panjáb and even captured Lahore, 1203 A.D., but Shaháb-ud-dín, with the assistance of Kutb-ud-dín *Ebak*, his deputy invaded the Panjáb, and not only recovered that Province, but induced the Ghakkars to embrace the Mahomedan religion.

Lahore captured by the Ghakkars, 1203 A. D.

Who, however, are compelled to evacuate it.

On the cruel assassination of Shaháb-ud-dín by the Ghakkars on the banks of the Nilab, Kutb-ud-dín *Ebak*, viceroy of northern India, originally a slave, mounted the throne at Lahore on July 24th, 1206 A. D.

Death of Shahábuddin Accession of Kutb-ud-dín *Ebak*.

Soon after the accession of Kutb-ud-dín to the throne, Taj-ud-dín Eldoz, another slave of Shaháb-ud-dín who, on his master's death, had retained possession of Ghazni and the northern provinces, set out with an army to enforce his claim, and captured Lahore,

* Minháj-us-Seráj.

† Sullivan.

‡ *Ibid*.

but was driven out by Kutb-ud-dín, who marched at the head of an army from Delhi.

"The public prayers and coinage of *Dinārs* and *Dirhams* throughout the whole country received honor and embellishment from his name and royal titles, and Lahur* where the throne of the Sultāns had been established, and which was the altar of the good and pious, became the capital."† The Sultān died at Lahore, in 1210 A.D., through a fall from his horse while playing the game of *Chougán* (now known as 'Polo'), and "he was buried at Lahore like a treasure in the bowels of the earth."‡

Lahore becomes the capital of the Ghoriān dynasty.

Arām Shāh.

Kutb-ud-dín *Ebak* was succeeded by his son Arām Shāh ; but the latter was defeated and expelled by the late king's son-in-law and adopted son, Shams-ud-dín Altamash. According to Hasan Nizāmī, the last named king arrived at Lahore, described as being "among the mothers of the countries of religion and among the chiefs of the provinces of Islām, the abode and repose of the excellent and pious, which, for some days, on account of a number of calamities and changes of governors and the sedition of rebels, had been distracted by the flames of turbulence and opposition, but had now been again reduced to order." In the beginning of 1217 A.D., Násir-ud-dín Mahmūd, the king's son, was appointed viceroy of Lahore, which became the scene of rejoicing and festivities and the game of *Chougán*, with which the king amused himself.§

Shams-ud-dín Altamash assumes the reins of empire.

A Mahomedan writer's description of Lahore.

Násir-ud-dín Mahmūd appointed viceroy of Lahore, 1217 A.D.

Lahore captured by Jalal-ud-dín, Sultān of Khowrazm, 1218 A.D.

Who is driven back by the hordes of Chengiz Khan.

In the year 1218, Jalal-ud-dín, Sultān of Khowrazm (now Khewa), having overrun Persia and Transoxiānā, conquered Lahore ; but his hordes were driven back to the banks of Indus by the legions of Chengiz Khán, the mighty lord of the pastoral world, the subverter of numberless kingdoms from the shores of the Caspian to the borders of China, and from the Indus to the Pole. According to the Bahrúl Baldán, "Several thousand horsemen under Turtái, the general of Chengiz Khán, crossed Scindh in pursuit of Jalal-ud-dín, and from thence went to Multán and ravaged that country and Loháwar."|| Another historian¶ says "that the places plundered by the Moghals on this occasion were Multán, Loháwar (Lahore), Fershawar (Peshawar), and Malikpur." After

* Lahore is here spelt Lahúr in the original.

† *Tājul Maāsir* of Hasan Nizāmī of Lahore, written in 1205 A.D. It is a very valuable work, being a contemporary history of the first permanent establishment of the Mahomedan power in the north-west of India.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Hasan Nizāmī.

|| Lahore is here called Loháwar.

¶ D'Obsson.

committing these depredations, the Moghals returned, across Scindh to Ghazni.

During the reign of Sultáná Razia Begam, who had succeeded her brother, Rukun-ud-dín Feroz, the son of Altamash (1236 A.D.), Malik Azud-dín Kabir Khán, Governor of Lahore, broke out in revolt. The Sultáná, who, according to the contemporary historian, Minháj-us-Seráj, "throwing off the dress and veil of the women, put on a coat (*Qabá*) and cap, and, daily sitting on her throne, gave audience to all her countries," led her army from Delhi to Lahore and reduced the insurgent chieftain to obedience, 1239 A.D.

Sultáná Razia Begam.

Revolt of the Lahore viceroy.

The fair ruler of India, on her defeat and cruel assassination (October 1240 A.D.), was succeeded by her brother, Sultán Moz-ud-dín Behráw Sháh. An army of the Moghals from Khorasán and Ghazni, penetrating into the Panjáb, committed great havoc. Malik Kara Kúsh, the Governor of Lahore, made preparations for resistance; but, not being supported by the people of the city, he fled one night in the direction of Delhi. Lahore was captured by the Moghals "who slaughtered the Mahomedans and made their dependents captives." * The event occurred in December 1241 A.D.

The ravages of the Moghals, 1241 A.D.

During the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd,† a younger son of Altamash (1246 to 1266 A.D.), the viceroyalty of the Panjáb was held by Sher Khán, a relation of Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban, the Sultán's able Wazír, who had been honoured with the hand of one of the daughters of Altamash. The Moghals continued to make repeated excursions into the Panjáb, but were each time repulsed by the Lahore viceroy, who even once invaded their territory and took possession of Ghazni.

Sher Khan, viceroy of the Panjáb.

On the death of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, his Wazír Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban, known also by his title of Ulugh Khán, who already exercised the power of a king, ascended the throne, 1266 A.D.

Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban.

Four or five years after his accession, Sher Khán, his cousin, the distinguished viceroy of Lahore, "who had proved a great barrier to the inroads of the Moghals," died.‡ The Sultán appointed his eldest son, Prince Mahomed, a young man of the greatest accomplishments, governor of the Panjáb and all the dependent frontier Districts, including Scindh. The Prince held his Court at Multán, in consequence of the inroads of the Moghals from the direction of Scindh. He was a patron of learning and literary men, and

He appoints his son, Prince Mahomed, viceroy of the Panjáb.

* Minháj-us-Seráj.

† The *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* of Minháj-us-Seráj is named after him.

‡ *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* of Zia-ud-din, Barni.

scholars flocked to his palace from the countries of Asia. Among the literary men of genius who attended his Court were Amír Khusrow, the poet *laureate*, believed to be the father of Urdú literature, and a poet and author of great talents, and Amír Hassan equally celebrated for his profound learning.

About this period, the Sultán, returning from his expedition to the Júd Mountains, marched to Lahore, where he ordered the rebuilding of the fort, which had suffered greatly from the inroads of the Moghals during the reigns of the sons of Shams-ud-dín Altamash. "He re-peopled the towns and villages of Lahore, which had been devastated by the Moghals, and appointed architects and superintendents to restore them."*

The fort of Lahore rebuilt.

Prince Mahomed a patron of learning.

The principal authority for Balban's period is the historian, Ziá-ud-dín, Barni, author of *Tarikh-i-Feroz Sháhí*, who lived in the succeeding century, and who declares that he wrote down what he received from his father and grand-father, or those who held offices of State. Thus, referring to the merits of the heir-apparent, Prince Mahomed, and his courtiers, the author writes:—"The young prince took great delight in having the *Shahnámá*, the *Khamasa* of Shekh Nizámi, the *Diwán of Sanáí* and the *Diwán of Kháákani* read out to him, and he listened to the discussions of learned men on the relative merits of these poets. He fully appreciated the merits and excellencies of the poets, Amír Khusrow and Amír Hassan, and delighted in honouring them above all others. I, the author of these pages, have often heard Khusrow and Hassan say that they never saw a prince of such excellent qualities as the Khani Sháhí."†

The excursions of the Moghals.

Prince Mahomed killed in an action.

The poet Khusrow,

In the year 1285 A.D., the Khán of Multán, as the heir-apparent of the Sultán was called, according to the words of Ziá-ud-dín, Barni, "the Mainstay of the empire," proceeded to Lahore and Deobalpur (Depálpur) to oppose the "accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Chengez Khán." He succeeded in defeating the invaders and recovered all the country they had conquered. A fresh army of the Moghals immediately followed, but, after a sanguinary fight, was put to flight. By an unfortunate juncture, a body of the enemy had kept together during the pursuit, and, to the intense grief of the army, succeeded in despatching prince Mahomed on the banks of the Ravi. In the same action the poet Khusrow, who was the prince's constant companion, was taken prisoner

* *Tarikh-i-Feroz Sháhí*.

† Namely, the "Martyr Khan." This was the title given to Prince Mahomed after he had been killed in a battle against the Moghals.

‡ So spelt in the original.

by the Moghals, and it was with considerable difficulty that the invaders were induced to set the "parrot of Hindustan," as Khusrow was called, at liberty. He wrote an elegy on the death of his patron.

The loss of the brave prince Muhammad drew tears from the lowest ranks in the army, among whom he had been extremely popular, and the aged Sultán, now in his eightieth year, sunk under the weight of his grief.

The grief of the army on the death of the Prince Muhammad.

The Khilzai and Toghlak dynasties.—During the Khilzai and Toghlak dynasties (1288 to 1414), a space of 126 years, Lahore shared little in the political history of the day. The Moghals continued to ravage the surrounding country, and on one occasion penetrated as far as Delhi itself, but were repulsed by Zafar Khán, the gallant General of Sultán Ala-ud-dín, 1298 A. D. At Lahore a number of these Moghals settled outside the town, and the *Moghal-púra* quarters, named after them, continued long to be the wealthiest inhabited part of the suburbs. The credit of putting an effectual stop to the excursions of the Moghals is given to Gházi Khán, the brave Viceroy of Lahore during the reign of Ala-ud-dín. In the year 1305 A.D., he pursued them into Cábul and Ghazni, and ever after he levied heavy contributions from those cities, which tended materially to restrain their incursions for many years subsequently. Gházi Khán, originally the son of a Turki slave of Ghias-ud-dín Balban, ascended the throne of India under the title of Ghias-ud-dín Toghlak (1321 A. D.), a position which he owed entirely to the high political wisdom and administrative genius which he had displayed as Viceroy of Lahore. He was the founder of the Toghlak dynasty of kings, who ruled India from 1321 to 1414 A. D.

The Moghal-púra quarters of the city.

Gházi Khán, Viceroy of Lahore.

He founds the Toghlak dynasty of kings.

Invasion of Týmúr.—When Týmúr crossed the Indus, on September 12th, 1398, A. D., Mobárák Khán, governor of the Panjáb, offered an ineffectual resistance, and the Moghal army sailed down the Chenab. Before proceeding to Delhi, Týmúr's army pillaged the Panjáb and Multán. Lahore escaped the sword of the conqueror, through the timely submission made to him by Malik Shekha *Khokar*, brother of Nusrat *Khokar*, who had been formerly governor of the place on the part of king Mahmúd-Toghlak of Delhi. He remained in attendance on the Emperor until the royal camp was fixed at Doáb, between the Ganges and the Jamna, after the conquest of Delhi.* There he asked permission to return home, ostensibly with the object of raising contributions and tribute for His

Týmúr's army plunders Panjáb and Multán.

Lahore saved from plunder.

Shekha *Khokar* submits to Týmúr.

* *Malfuzat-i-Týmúr* and *Zafarnáma*.

His subsequent conduct annoys the Emperor.

Who levies a contribution from the residents of Lahore.

Tymúr returns to Turkistán.

Khizr Khán, Viceroy of Lahore.

He founds the Syad dynasty of kings

Majesty, promising to rejoin the camp on the river Beas. On reaching Lahore, however, he forgot all his promises, and not only made no arrangements for raising contributions from the townspeople, but, when a party of Tymúr's followers, among whom was Maulána Abdulla, the king's favorite counsellor, passed through Lahore, on their way from Samarkand to join the Emperor, he treated them with indifference. Incensed at this perfidious conduct on the part of the *Khokar* chief, the Emperor sent Prince Pír Mahomed Jahangir, his grandson, Prince Rustam and Amirs Sulemán Sháh and Jahan Sháh, to Lahore, to levy a contribution from the inhabitants, ravage the country, and put Shekha in chains. These Princes and Omerahs, having come to Lahore at the head of a detachment, levied a ransom from the inhabitants and threw Shekha *Khokar*, his wife and children into confinement. "When I returned from the hunt," writes the Emperor in his autobiography, "the princes and nobles whom I had sent to Lahore returned from that place, bringing with them much wealth and property. I received them with due honour, and the plunder which they had brought from Lahore, in money, goods and horses, they presented to me, and I divided it among the nobles in attendance at my Court."* The author of the *Zafarnáma* notices the event thus :—"Princes Pír Mahomed and Rustam, accompanied by Amirs Jahan Sháh and Sulemán Sháh, arrived from Lahore. They had put to the sword many infidel Hindus, had gained a large booty and now offered their spoil to the Emperor." The conqueror left no garrison in the Panjáb, but returned to Turkistán, having appointed Syad Khizr Khán as his viceroy of Lahore† and retaining only a titular suzerainty over Hindustán.

The Syad dynasty.—Khizr Khán Syad was another viceroy of Lahore, after Gházi Khán Toghlak, whom the important command he held in the Panjáb, enabled to assume the royal diadem at Delhi. On the death of Mahmúd-Toghlak, in February 1412, he marched from Lahore and expelling Dowlat Khán Afghán Lodi, who had succeeded the late King, ascended the throne. To avert the jealousy of the Omerahs, however, he resorted to the expedient of ruling the country in the name of Tymúr, and he was enabled to support his position by the aid of the Lahore and Multán forces, which had been under his command. During the dynasty of the Syads, 1412 to 1478, a space of 66 years, Lahore was not prominent in the political affairs of the time.

* *Malfuzat-i-Tymúri.*

† *Ibid.*

The Lodi dynasty.—The power of the Afghán dynasty known as the line of Lodis was originally established in the Panjáb. Behlol's grandfather was governor of Multán, and his father, viceroy of Lahore, during the reign of the Emperor Feroz Toghlak, and his uncles held important commands under the Syad Sovereigns of Delhi. One of his uncles, Islam Khán, had 12,000 Afghán warriors in his private employ.* Behlol's mother was smothered under the ruins of a fallen house, and, his father opening her body, the infant, destined to be the future Emperor of Hindustán, was taken out. The power of the Lodi family in the Panjáb excited the jealousy of the reigning Sovereigns of Delhi, who drove them into the hills. Behlol, however, on growing up, took the opportunity of occupying, first Sirhand, and subsequently the whole of the Panjáb. The dominion of Lahore was thus severed for a time from the sovereignty of Delhi, until Behlol, having been invited by the Wazir of Syad Ala-ud-dín, the last sovereign of the Syad dynasty, supplanted him and was ultimately adopted by that Sovereign as his successor. Behlol's accession to the throne is reckoned from 1450 A.D., the date of the abdication of Sultán Ala-ud-dín. His accession again brought back the Panjáb under the Delhi empire.†

The power of the Lodis established in the Panjáb.

In dependence of the Panjáb.

The province again restored to the empire.

During the reign of his grandson, Sultán Ibrahím, Dowlat Khán Lodi, Governor of Lahore, disgusted at the ill-treatment of his son Dilawar Khán at the court of Delhi, addressed, through Alam Khán Lodi, an invitation to the Moghal Emperor Baber at Cábul to repair to Hindustán, bringing to his notice the contempt in which the ruling dynasty was held in the country, the discord that prevailed among the nobles and the discontent of the army.

Distracted state of the Court of Delhi.

Lahore conquered by Baber, 1524 A.D.—The invasion of Hindustán had been from the first the favorite object of Baber's ambition. The empire of Delhi had been an incessant scene of confusion and revolt; and the whole country was thrown into uttermost disorder. As previously noted, the Panjáb was held by Dowlat Khán Lodi and his sons, Gházi Khán and Dilawar Khán. The impolitic arrogance and haughty temper of Sultán Ibrahím drove

Disaffection of the Viceroy of Lahore.

* The Lodis at this time held Sirhand, Lahore, Sannám, Samána and Hissar as far as Pánpát. Sambhal was governed by Daria Khán Lodi, and Patiálá and Kampil by Raé Partab.—*Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*.

Sultán Ala-ud-dín possessed only Delhi, Pálam and some of the adjoining Parganás. The *Tárikh-i-Daúdi* records a distich which was current at the time expressing the dwindled condition of the crown dominions under the Syad dynasty.

پادشاهی شاه عالم از دھلی تا پالم

"The empire of the king of the world

Extends from Delhi to Pálam."—*Tárikh-i-Daúdi*.

† Elphinstone, page 84, Vol. II.

Who invites Baber to come to India.

Lahore occupied by Baber.

Who puts the city on fire.

His arrangements of the province.

The disturbances raised by Dowlat Khán quelled.

the Viceroy of the Panjáb into revolt, to suppress which the Emperor sent an army under Behár Khán Lodi. Finding himself unable to resist this force, Dowlat Khán offered his allegiance to Baber and implored him to march to his succour. The Moghal sovereign gladly accepted this call and soon put his army in motion. He crossed the Indus, marched through the country of the Ghakkars, whom he reduced to obedience, passed the Jhelam and the Chenab, and speedily approached Lahore. Behár Khán Lodi, Mobárak Khán Lodi, and some other Afghán Omerahs, still in the interest of the Delhi Emperor, encountered the invading army near Lahore, but were defeated with great slaughter. The conquerors, elated with their success, and enraged at the obstinacy of the resistance, plundered the town and burnt its streets.* The Emperor halted only four days in Lahore and then advanced to Dipálpúr, the garrison of which place he put to the sword. Crossing then the Sutlej, he had advanced as far as Sirhand, when news reached him of the revolt of Dowlat Khán, who, dissatisfied with his *jágir* of Sultánpúr, which had been allotted to him by the Moghal Emperor, had risen up in arms. Baber, abandoning his designs against Delhi, deemed it prudent to hasten back to Lahore. Dowlat Khán, on hearing of the King's approach, fled to the hill country on the east, but His Majesty reconciled Dilawar Khán, his son, and honored him with the title of Kháni-i-Khánán.† At Lahore, he parcelled out among his *Omerahs* the districts of the Panjáb which he had conquered. Dipálpúr was given to Sultán Ala-ud-dín Lodi, brother of Sultán Ibrahim, a competitor for the throne of Delhi; Sialkot to Khusrow Gokul Tash, and Kalanor to Mahomed Ali Tájak. Appointing then Mir Abdul Azíz, a near relation, to the charge of Lahore, and Bába Khushka, a veteran Moghal officer, to watch the proceedings of Sultán Ala-ud-dín, he marched back to Cábul.

Scarcely had Baber recrossed the Indus, when Dowlat Khán, issuing from his mountain retreat, advanced to Dipálpúr, where his troops defeated Sultán Ala-ud-dín. Bába Khushka repaired to Lahore, which became a hot bed of intrigues fomented by Dowlat Khán. Baber again arrived on the scene. His officers had all formed a junction at Lahore, which they still held. Mahomed Sultán Mirza, Adil Sultán and other Moghal *Omerahs* proceeded from Lahore to Kalanor to pay their respects to His Majesty. The enemy, to the number of 40,000,‡ were encamped on the banks of the Ravi. The Emperor sent a reconnoitring party to examine their position; but

* Memoirs of Baber by Erskine, page 287.

† *Khalásat-ul-Tawárikh*, p. 244.

‡ Compare *Ferishta*, page 42, Vol. II, and *Khalásat-ul-Tawárikh*, page 245.

the force, being informed of his approach, broke up and retreated in consternation. The Emperor thereupon marched towards Delhi without entering Lahore.

This was Baber's fifth and last expedition; and the battle of Pánipat, fought on 29th April, 1526, decided the fate of the empire. Ibrahim was slain, his army defeated with great slaughter and Delhi captured by the victorious Baber, who thus laid the foundations of the Moghal empire in Hindustán.

Baber died at Agra on December 16th, 1530 A.D.*

The Moghal Period.—Fresh from a lovely and picturesque country, abounding in beautiful streams and rivulets, and rich in luxuriant vegetation and the waving foliage of trees, the followers of Baber, that knight errant of Asia, contemplated with dismay the prospect of a prolonged stay in the inhospitable regions of India. The happy recollections of the vale of Fargháná and its neighbouring mountains made them anxious to return home; † but Baber, in an eloquent speech made by him before an assembly of his troops, dissuaded them from carrying out their dangerous and impolitic resolution after the brilliant victories they had gained, impressing upon them the incalculable advantages of founding a new empire in India. His words had the desired effect; and an empire was founded in India which was destined to become one of the greatest that has ever ruled the destinies of an Asiatic country.

Baber becomes the founder of the Moghal empire in India.

The first town of importance that benefited by the establishment of the Moghal monarchy in the Panjáb, was naturally Lahore. During the reigns of the early Moghal Emperors, justly regarded as the golden period of the history of Lahore, it became once more a place of royal residence. Endowed by nature with a noble spirit of chivalry, valour and enterprise, a lively imagination and a delightful humour, they proved to be the most enlightened patrons of literature and the fine arts that ever flourished in the East. Under them Lahore soon became the seat of learning. It became the resort of learned men, poets, authors, orators and men versed in the science of theology and philosophy, who flocked to the Imperial Court from Bokhárá, Samarkand, Mawarulnehr and other countries of Asia, noted in those days for the cultivation of literature and the arts of peace. Fine gardens were laid out, canals dug to improve the means of irrigation, spacious mosques built, caravan

Great prosperity of Lahore during the early Moghal rule.

* Baber's remains were sent to Cábul and buried there.

† One even gave vent to his feelings in a verse to the following effect:—

“If safe and sound, I pass the river Sind,
Dence take me, if again I'll visit Hind.”

seraes constructed, palaces, domes and minarets erected, and an impetus was given to the architecture of the country quite unsurpassed in any age. The chief architectural monuments that adorn Lahore at the present day, are to be traced to the early Moghal period, and to the same period are referable the best productions of learning and literature in their several branches to which the Panjáb may fairly lay a claim.

Humayún.—Three days after the death of the late Emperor, Humayún ascended the throne in the city of Agra, on 29th December, 1530 A. D. No sooner did his brother, Kámrán, who at that time held Cábul and Candahár, hear of this event, than he marched for the Panjáb, ostensibly to offer his congratulations to his brother on his accession, but in reality to try his own fortune whether he might not be raised to the throne of Hindustán. As he drew near to Lahore, he found that Mir Yunis Ali, who had been its

Rebellion of
Prince Kám-
rán.

He foils
Baber's gover-
nor of Lahore.

governor under Baber, was faithful to his trust and adhered to the cause of Humayún. Averse to having recourse to warlike operations, he resorted to a stratagem. Affecting to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Keracha Beg, one of his principal omerahs, he openly rebuked him in the Darbár. The Beg, feigning offence at this treatment, effected his escape the following night, with all his followers, and sought refuge in Lahore. Intrigue and defection were so common in those days that nothing appeared strange in the Beg's conduct. Delighted to have won over to his side a man of so much consequence, Mir Yunis Ali went out of the city, with a large procession, to meet the Beg and bid him welcome to the capital of the Panjáb. He was received with every demonstration of joy, treated as a personal friend, and constantly invited to partake of the hospitality of the Viceroy's table; and several social entertainments were given for his amusement. Keracha Beg, however, coolly watched his opportunity, and one night, on the occasion of

The perfidy
of Keracha
Beg.

a festive entertainment, availing himself of the lateness of the hour, when the soldiers had been allowed to return to their respective quarters, he perfidiously seized the person of the Mir, and placed him in confinement. He then took possession of the gates of the citadel and invited Mirza Kámrán to the city. Kámrán, who had been anxiously waiting the result, no sooner heard of the success of his ally, than he repaired to Lahore and entered the city with a strong force. No resistance was offered. The city was occupied by Kámrán who, having relieved Mir Yunis Ali, allowed him to join Humayún. After this success, Kámrán took possession of the whole of the Panjáb as far as the Sutlej, and was acknowledged as its ruler. Humayún, naturally of a mild disposition, soon after-

Lahore occu-
pied by Mirza
Kámrán.

wards confirmed his brother in his government of Cábul, Candahár and the Panjáb.* Pleased with this treatment, the Mirza sent valuable presents for the Emperor, as a token of gratitude. Ever afterwards he kept up a correspondence with His Majesty, and in all his communications he expressed the utmost humility, representing himself as the King's vassal and well-wisher. Once he submitted from Lahore to His Majesty the following autograph odes composed by himself—

He is confirmed in his government of the Panjáb, &c.

غزل كامران مرزا

حسن تو دم بدم افزون بادا طالعیت فرخ و میمون بادا
گرد کان از ره لیلی خیزد جائے او دیده مجنون بادا
هر غبارے که ز راهت خیزد نور چشم من مکزون بادا
هر که گرد تو چو پرکار نگشت او ازین دایره بیرون بادا
کامران تاکه جهان رامست بقا خسرو دهر همایون بادا

The odes of Mirza Kámran.

"May thy beauty increase every moment;
May thy fortune continue to be happy and prosperous.
The dust that may rise from the path of Leli,†
May it find a place in the eyes of Majnún.
The dust that may rise from thy path,
May it be the light of the eyes of this afflicted person!
Whoever has not walked round thee like a pair of compasses.
May he be expelled from this circle (of the world).
As long as there is duration to the world, O Kámran,
May Humayún be the king of the world!"‡

Allamí Abul Fazl here writes humourously :—

و همانا که دعائے او با جابت رمیده بود که بمقتضای کم اخلاصی
از دائره اعتبار بلکه از دائره هستی بیرون آمد چنانچه در جائے
خود گذارش یابد

"And, indeed, his (Kámran's) prayer was accepted, for, in consequence of disloyalty, he was expelled from the circle of confidence, nay, from the circle of existence, as will be mentioned in its proper place.§

* *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, page 140, and *Akbarnáma*, p. 96, Vol. I.

† The name of the celebrated mistress of Majnún whose amours with her are the subjects of the poems of Nizámi.

‡ *Akbarnáma*, page 96, Vol. I.

§ Kámran was blinded by Humayún, on the return of the latter from Persia, and permitted to go to Mecca, where he subsequently died. A touching incident which occurred at this juncture, is described by Abul Fazl in the *Akbarnáma*, (page 247, Volume I.). On the night which had been fixed for Kámran's departure for Mecca, Humayún, out of brotherly regard, went to the Prince's palace on the banks on the Indus, accompanied by his courtiers. The unfortunate prince, after greeting his royal brother, cited the following verse :—

كله گوشه درویش برفلك مایب كه سایه همچو توشاهی فگند بر سراو

"The fold of the poor man's turban touches heaven,
When a king like thee casts his shadow upon his head."

Mahomed Zamán Mirza besieges Lahore, 1535, but retires. In the years 1535 A.D., Mahomed Zamán Mirza,* after his defeat at Mandsúr, having made a diversion on the side of the Panjáb laid siege to Lahore. Kámrán Mirza, however, returned in time victorious from his expedition of Candahár, and Zamán Mirza retired precipitately to Gujrat.

The perfidious conduct of Mirza Kámrán. When the conflict between Humayún and Sher Sháh Súr, Afghan broke out, Humayún with his brothers Hindal and Askerí sought refuge at Lahore; but the perfidy of his brother Kámrán, who had made peace with Sher Sháh by ceding Panjáb to that monarch, compelled him to quit Lahore with the Imperial family. He and the Mirza crossed the Ravi on 31st October 1540. The Mirza separated from the Emperor near Hazara, and His Majesty proceeded to Scindh. Sher Shah, who had pursued the Emperor from Agra, through the Panjáb, laid the foundations of a new Rohtas, and, having appointed his able general, Khawás Khán, Viceroy of the province, returned to Agra.

His benevolent schemes. Sher Sháh was an enlightened and magnificent monarch. From his commanding position on the frontier and his possession of the great mercantile cities of Peshawar and Lahore, he developed the trade of the Panjáb with the countries of Central Asia and Northern China. He connected the cities of Multán and Lahore by a road and planted fruit trees to refresh the weary traveller from Bengal to Niláb, a branch of the Indus, for a distance of 1,500 miles. Sher Sháh, on attaining power, made special provision for the employment of his countrymen from Roh.† This marvellous man died by the bursting of a shell, at the siege of Kalinjar, on May 22nd, 1545. Taken to his tent, he survived for two days, in great agony, but conscious and contemplating future events, thus doing his duty to the last. Sher Sháh, on his death-bed, regretted that he had not razed the city of Lahore to the ground. He had long meditated the entire destruction of the city; "for," said he, "such a large city should not exist on the very road of an invader, who, immediately after capturing it on his arrival, could collect his supplies and organise his resources there." He repented also not

His death-bed regret.

And immediately after this he spoke the following verse *extempore*.

برجام از تو هر چه رسد جائے منت مست گزناوڪ جفاست و گر خونچر مست

"Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness,
Be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty."

* He was grandson of the famous Sultán Husein Mirza, of Khorasán. After his father's kingdom had passed into the hands of the Uzbeks, he had resided at the Court of Baber, with whom he was a particular favourite. One of Baber's daughters was married to him. Compare Baber's Memoirs by Erskine and Khalásat-ul-Tawarikh.

† It is a ridge of the Sulemán mountains. The Afghans settled in large numbers in the Pergana of Bijwara and were handsomely provided for by the Emperor.—*Tarikh-i-Sher Sháhí*.

having had time to plant his tribesmen from the hills of Roh on the tract between Niláb and Lahore, to watch the attempts of the Moghals on the Panjáb.

Humáyún, after an exile of fourteen years, crossed the Indus, unopposed, on 2nd of January 1555. Sekandar Sháh, the Afghán Governor of Lahore, had carried away the army of the Panjáb to Delhi, so that the province was left without any troops for its defence. Humáyún marched to Lahore, which was abandoned on his approach, and, entering it on 24th February, was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants.* Having appointed Farhat Khán, *Shakdár* (Governor) of Lahore, Babbús Khan, Foujdar, Mirza Sháh Sultán, Amir and Mehtar, and Jouhar Treasurer for the *Suba* of the Panjáb, His Majesty marched for Sirhand.†

Lahore in the hands of Humáyún, 1555.

Akbar.—On the death of his father at Delhi in 1556 A. D., Akbar, then only thirteen years and four months old, ascended the throne at Kalanor‡ in the Panjáb, where he was then encamped to prosecute a war with Sekandar Sháh *Súr*, under the tutelage of the famous General and Minister Behráw Khán. Here the *Khutba* was proclaimed from the pulpit. The first event of importance which took place at Lahore after the accession of the Emperor, was the capture of Sháh Abul Ma'áli, Governor of Lahore, in the time of Humáyún, and an *Amir* of the first rank, who had shown a disposition to rebel.§ He was seized and made over to Pahalwan *Kalgaz*, the *Kotwal*, or chief Police officer, of Lahore, but he managed to effect his escape from custody, and, collecting an army, invaded Kashmír. The *Kotwal*, feeling ashamed of the disgrace to which he was likely to be subjected by the imperial government, committed suicide.

Akbar's coronation at Kalanor.

Rebellion of Sháh Abul Ma'áli.

The Emperor, having heard of the defeat of his General, Khizr Khán, within twenty *koss* of the capital of the Panjáb, arrived at Lahore during the second year of his reign, and remained

* Erskine.

† *Akbarnáma* p. 25, Vol. I.

‡ Kalanor was at that time an important town of the district of Lahore. It is now a town in the Gurdáspúr district. After the coronation of Akbar at Kalanor, spacious palaces and edifices were built there by His Majesty's command, in commemoration of the event. When Abdul Qádir, Badáoni, the well-known historian of Akbar, wrote his history, these edifices were in course of construction, vide *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, Book III. Some of these existed down to the British period, but were mercilessly destroyed for the sake of their bricks. What now exists is a platform of packa masonry marking the place where Akbar had been raised to the throne of Hindustán by his *Omerahs*. Around this are cultivated lands of *Zamindárs*.

§ He was a Saiyad of high family, and was a native of Káshghar. He was noted for his valour and the symmetry of his limbs. Humáyún had honored him with the title of *Farzand* (son).

War with
Sikandar
Sháh Súr.

Birth of
Mirza Abdul
Rahim Khan-
i-Khanan at
Lahore.

there four months and fourteen days, which time was employed by him in consolidating his rule in the Panjáb,* and in supervising military operations against Sikandar Sháh Súr, who had strengthened his position in the Sewálik mountains. He then returned to Delhi, after appointing Husein Khan, son of Mahdi Qásam Khán's sister, his governor of Lahore. It was about this time that Mirza Abdul Rahim *Khán-i-Khanan*, the famous poet and minister, and one of the ablest administrators who adorned the Court of Akbar, was born at Lahore. He was the son of the Emperor's tutor and General Behráam Khán.

Shams-ud-
dín Mahomed
Khan *Atka*,
appointed
Viceroy of the
Panjáb.

After Behráam Khán had fallen into disfavor, Shams-ud-dín† Mahomed Khan *Atka*, who had distinguished himself in the wars against Sikandar Sháh Súr, having received his flag and drum, was sent as viceroy to the Panjáb. His Majesty followed him to Lahore, which he visited in the fifth year of his reign. The title of *Khan-i-Azim* was conferred on Shams-ud-dín, and extensive *jagirs* were bestowed on him and his family in the Panjáb.‡ In the same year (964 A.H.) Mariam Makani, the Queen Dowager, with other ladies,§ joined the Imperial camp from Cábul. It was also during this march that, one of the Emperor's elephants having by accident run into Behráam Khán's tents, ill-feeling arose between him and Shams-ud-dín, who was suspected by the minister of causing the accident. The governor, with his sons, went to Khán-i-Khanan's tents and took an oath on the Qoran that the affair was a mere accident; thus all suspicion was removed.||

Rebellion of
Mahomed Ha-
kím Mirza,
1556 A.D.

In 1556, the peace of Lahore was disturbed by Mahomed Hakím Mirza, the Emperor's half-brother, who, having been expelled from Cábul, sought to establish himself in the Panjáb, and was encouraged by several local commanders who joined him at Cábul. After plundering Bhera, he set out for Lahore by forced marches and encamped in the garden of Mahdi Qásam Khán, which was situated outside the city, on the banks of river Ravi.¶ Some of the

* *Akbarnāma*.

† His wife was the wet-nurse of Akbar. Humáyún called her Ji Ji Angah. Akbar called Shams-ud-dín *Atka* (foster-father) *Khan*. *Tabakāt*.

‡ His younger brother Qutb-ud-dín, tutor to Prince Salem, founded several mosques at Lahore.—*Blochmann*, p. 333.

§ Háji Begam, a wife of Humáyún, Gulchera Begam and Gulbadan Begam Humáyún's sisters, and Salema Sultan Begam, daughter of Gulchera Begam.—*Akbarnāma*.

|| *Muntakhb-ut-Tawarikh*.

¶ Qásam Khán was an *Amir* of Akbar's Court. The garden referred to stood on the bank of the Ravi branch (or *Chota Ravi*), close to the *Karbala* of the *Shiás*, where the Mahomedans bury their *tazias* on the 10th of Moharram, south-west of the tomb of Datá Ganj Bakhsh and behind the Government School premises, or the ice-pits. A very high dome known as *Gumbaz Qásam Khán*,

Omerahs of the Panjáb, such as Mir Mahomed *Khan-i-Kalan*, Qutb-ud-dín Mahomed Khán and Sharif Khán, having heard of these proceedings, assembled in Lahore and strengthened the fortress. Several times the Mirza marshalled his forces and advanced to the foot of the fortifications, but the *Omerahs* repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets.* The news of these hostilities, having reached the Emperor at Agra, His Majesty marched on the Panjáb by way of Sirhand, and Mahomed Hakím Mirza, feeling incapable of resistance, fled to Cábul. The Emperor heard the news of his flight after crossing the Jumna, but continued his march to Lahore. On approaching the city, he was welcomed by the nobles, who received distinguished marks of royal favor for the loyalty and devotion they had exhibited. His Majesty entered Lahore, the *Dar-us-Sultanat*, at a propitious moment in *Rajab*, and put up in the house of Mahdí Qásam Khán, in the citadel. By the Emperor's command, Qutb-ud-dín Mahomed Khán and Kamál Khán, the Ghakkar Chief, pursued, Mahomed Hakím Mirza beyond the Parganá of Bhera; but the Mirza had already crossed the Indus.

The emperor
or marches
to Lahore.

"His Majesty," according to Abul Fazl, "while at Lahore, was engaged, greatly to his satisfaction, in arranging the affairs of the people." The Zamindars of the country waited on the Imperial Court to tender their allegiance and were graciously received. Mahomed Báki, the ruler of Scind, sent his ambassador to the Court, and his offer to be recognized as a vassal of the Emperor was accepted.

At the commencement of the 12th year of his reign (February 1567 A.D.), His Majesty resolved to go out for a *Qamraga* hunt.† The great hunt.

existed here until lately. This was the mausoleum of the Mahomedan noble after whose name the garden was called. The building was double-storeyed with vaulted chambers round it. It was one of the most handsome and imposing buildings of Lahore, the graceful and majestic tower of which is still fresh in the memory of the people. The son of Kishen Singh, *Kamboh*, who laid some pretensions to its ownership, destroyed it for the sake of its bricks and nothing of the monument now remains but a heap of lime and pieces of bricks.

Mahdí Qásam Khán was for a long time Akbar's Governor of Cábul and was murdered at Lahore, in 1001 A.H. (1592 A.D.)—*vide Ma'asir*. The mausoleum previously mentioned, was raised to his memory by his royal master Akbar.

Badaóni informs us that Mahdí Qásam Khán had a villa at Lahore which he called Bagh-i-Mahdí Qásam Khán.—*Badaóni*, II, pp. 90, 292.

* *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, page 226.

† *Akbarnāma*, page 216, Vol. II.

While the Mirza was in temporary possession of the Panjáb, Mulla Ghizálí, a poet, native of Mush-hed, found the following rhyme for his seal:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ—وَارِثُ مَلِكٍ مَسْتُ مَعْدُ حَكِيمِ

"In the name of the Gracious and Merciful God,

Mahomed Hakím is the heir of the kingdom."—*Badaóni*, p. 94.

† *Qamraga*, a Turki word, denoting a grand *battue* in which the game is driven into a centre by a large number of beaters who form themselves into a circle.

For a space of forty *kos* round Lahore, the Amírs were ordered to drive the wild game together within a circle of about five *kos* on all sides of the city. Under the directions of Mír Mahomed *Atka*, they drove together some 15,000 wild animals of all kinds into that area. The royal tent used in campaigns was set up in the midst, and His Majesty went out to hunt on horseback. Each day the Amírs and Kháns drew their lines closer, to narrow the circle. The nobles were then permitted to join in the sport, and afterwards the general public were allowed to take part in it, and there was hardly a soldier or private person who did not enjoy some game. On return to the city, after many days of festivities, the Emperor dashed on horseback into the river Ravi and swam across it. His example was followed by his courtiers, and all but two got safely across. On 22nd March, 1567, the Emperor started to return to Agra, leaving the direction of the affairs of the Panjáb to Mír Mahomed Khán *Atka*.

Husein Kuli Khán appointed viceroy of the Panjáb.

The Emperor visits Pák Pattan.

In the thirteenth year of the reign, Husein Kuli Khán, having been appointed viceroy of the Panjáb, was sent to Lahore, with his brother Ismail Khan.* The following year, His Majesty visited Ajud-dhan (Pák Pattan), to pay his benedictions to the mausoleum of Saint Farid Shakar Ganj. The place being the *jagir* of Mirza Aziz *Gokal Tásh*, surnamed Azim Khán, His Majesty was sumptuously entertained by him. The *Mnemosynon* for the date was found in the hemistich—

مہمان عزیزند شہ و شاہزادہ

“The king and the prince are honored guests.”

From Dipálpúr, the Emperor proceeded to Lahore, where he was the guest of Husein Kuli Khán; and, having spent some days there in hunting, he marched to Ajmere.

Death of Husein Kuli Khán.

In the seventeenth year of the reign, Husein Kuli Khán was created *Akhán-i-Jahan*; but he died soon after. “While governor of Lahore,” writes *Al-Badáoni*, “his food consisted of barley-bread, his object being to follow the example of the holy apostles. He repaired, restored, or rebuilt, many thousands of mosques and ancient sepulchres.”

Irruption of Mahomed Hakím Mirza, 1579 A.D.

In the year 1579, Mahomed Hakím Mirza, the ruler of Cábul, having again crossed the Indus, defeated Kawar Mán Singh, the Governor of the Panjáb. He next marched to Lahore and encamped in the garden of Mahdi Qásam Khán. Kawar Mán Singh, Saíd Khan, Rája Bhagwan Dás, Sayad Hamíd, Mahomed Zamán

* *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, p. 286.

and other Jagirdárs of the Panjáb set to work to strengthen the fort. Sher Khwája, Nadir Ali *Zurcha*, and Mir Sikandar, on the side of the prince, repeatedly attacked the fort, but failed to make any impression.* Meanwhile the prince, having been informed of the Emperor's approach to the Panjáb, recrossed the Ravi and retreated to Cábul in February. The Emperor deputed his son, Prince Murád, to pursue him; but it was not until March 6th, 1579, that victory was gained, and, the prince having effected his escape towards the mountains, the Emperor entered Cábul in triumph. On his return from Cabúl, on new year's day, it being the thirty-third year of his accession, the Emperor held great rejoicings in the capital of the Panjáb. The *Daulat Khána 'Am*, or the halls of public audience, which consisted of one hundred and fourteen porticoes, were embellished with all sorts of ornamentations and decorated with valuable stuffs and embroidered curtains. The chiefs of the neighbouring districts came to pay the king homage, among others being the Rája of Kamáun whose ancestors had never before seen a Mahomedan sovereign.† In the following Ramzan the Emperor, left Saíd Khán, Rája Bhagwán Dás and Kavar Mán Singh in charge of the affairs of the Panjáb, and marched to Fatehpur.‡

His defeat
and escape.

Public re-
joicings at
Lahore.

About this time (1580 A.D.) there lived at Lahore an impostor, named Sheikh Kamál Bayáni, who gave out that in the twinkling of an eye he could go over from one bank of the river Ravi to the other and from there call out to any body, "So and so go home," so as to be heard distinctly by the people on the opposite bank. People put him to the test, and he managed his trick so well that they were convinced he possessed some miraculous power, for, no sooner had he disappeared from one bank of the river, than he was heard calling out the names of people on the other. The news having reached the Emperor, His Majesty took him privately to the banks of the river and asked him to show the miracle. The man dared not return a reply to the Emperor, on which His Majesty said:—"Very well, then we will bind you hand and foot and cast you from the top of the castle. If you come out of the water safe and sound, well and good; if not, you will have gone to hell." Being brought to bay, he pointed to his stomach and said:—"I have contrived all this merely for the sake of filling this hell of my own!" The deception practised by the impostor was this. He had a son who had the power of imitating his father's voice so

The story
of an impos-
tor.

* *Akbarnáma*, page 203, Vol. III.

† *Al-Baddoni*, page 365.

‡ *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, page 351.

exactly that the most acute observer could hardly detect the difference. As soon as the father had, on the pretence of performing ablutions, gone down to the edge of the river and hidden himself in the stream, the son shouted out from the opposite side, in a voice closely resembling that of his father: "So and so, go home." The impostor had deceived many people by his fraud, among them being *Khán-i-Khanan* and Dowlat Khán. Akbar, however, exposed the deception.*

When the Emperor went to Kashmír, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, he left Todar Mal in charge of Lahore. The great Financier and Revenue Accountant was a *Khatrí* of Chúníán, in the Lahore district.† He entered Akbar's service at a very early period. He was created a Diwán in the twenty-third year of the reign, and it was during this year that he introduced the financial reforms which have rendered his name so famous in India. He introduced a new rent-roll and a system of land measurement and revenue accounts. He

His revenue reforms.

also made regulations for imperial mints in the chief towns of India, all of which are detailed in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnáma*, the learned works of the *Allámi* Abul Fazl. Before his appointment as Diwán, all government accounts were written in the Hindí characters. Todar Mal introduced the Persian characters, and his co-religionists were thus compelled to learn the Court language of their Mahomedan rulers. In the twenty-second year of Akbar's reign, Todar Mal was raised to the dignity of Wazir of the empire.

Introduction of Persian characters in State accounts.

It was due to the liberal policy of Akbar that Hindus obtained the highest posts of honor under the Mussalman government of India. Thus, we see Mán Singh raised to the rank of seven thousand and made governor of the Panjáb, as his father Rájá Bhagwán Dás had been before him. The Panjáb, it would appear, has always been treated as the most important Province, and the viceroyalty of that country was considered of superior dignity to the Prime-ministership at the capital of India. The fact, therefore, of these Hindus holding the most important commands shows the liberality which inspired Akbar's whole policy.

Akbar's liberal policy.

Soon after the return of the imperial forces from Eusufzai, whither Todar Mal had been ordered to accompany Rájá Mán Singh, the commander-in-chief,‡ he applied for leave to go to the Ganges to die there in peace, as he had become an old man. The Emperor granted his request, but recalled him from Hardwár,

* *Al-Baddoni*, pp. 367-68.

† His private residence at Lahore was in Bazar Hakimán, Bhati Gate.

‡ Rájá Mán Singh died a natural death in the Deccan in the ninth year of Jahangir's reign. He left fifteen hundred wives, of whom sixty burned themselves on his funeral pile.—*Blochmann*, page 341.

telling him that doing his duty to his country and State was a pilgrimage far more meritorious than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. Todar Mal returned unwillingly, and died soon after at Lahore in 1581 A. D. Death of Todar Mal.

A short time after Rájá Todar Mal's death, Rájá Bhagwán Dás died at Lahore in the beginning of 998 (1589 A. D.). It is said that, while returning from Todar Mal's funeral, he was seized with an attack of stranguary of which he died. He held the title of *Amir-ul-Omara*, or the premier noble.* In the twenty-ninth year of the reign, his daughter was married to Prince Salem, a union of which Prince Khusrow was the offspring. And of Rájá Bhagwán Dás, 1589 A.D.

The following year, 999 A. H. (1582 A. D.), Urfi, the great poet of Akbar's Court, died at Lahore. He was an attendant of Abdul Rahim *Khin-i-Khanan*, and bequeathed, in all, about 14,000 verses to his patron. He was only 36 years old when he died, and his body was, thirty years later, removed by the poet, Sabir, to Isphahan and buried in the holy land of Najaff. Thus, his prognostication, recorded in one of his verses in the praise of Ali (who is also buried in Najaff), was fulfilled when he said :— Death of Urfi, the great poet, 1590 A.D.

بكاوش مژه از گورتا نجف بروم—اگر به هند هلاكم كندوگر به تبار

“By the force of my eye-lids I shall travel from my grave to Najaff,
Should they kill me either in Hind or in Tartary.”

The date of Urfi's death is found in the hemistich,

حرفي جوانه مرگ شدي

“Urfi thou didst die young.”

His early death was, according to Eastern ideas, ascribed to the abuse he had heaped on the ancients.

* Al-Badāoni, who entertains the bitterest hatred for the Hindus, thus notices the death of Todar Mal and Bhagwán Dás : “ They hastened to the abode of hell and torment and in the nethermost valley of Hinnom became the food of ferocious beasts and scorpions ; may God scorch them both.” The date of their death was found in the hemistich—

بگفتا تو دُر و بهگوان مردند

“One said : Todar and Bhagwan died.”

The following Quatrain gives the date of Todar Mal's death :

تو دُرمل آنكه ظلمش بگرفته بود عالم
چون رفت سوئے دوزخ خلقی شدند خورم
تاریخ رفتنش را از پیر عقل جستیم
خوش گشت پیر دانا وی رفت در جهنم

“Todar Mal was he whose tyranny had oppressed the world ;
When he proceeded to hell, the people rejoiced.
I asked the date of his death from the old man of intellect ;
Gladly replied the wise old man :
He is gone to hell.”

Lahore a
great city in
the time of
Akbar.

Lahore was a place of great importance in Akbar's time. Abul Fazl, speaking of Lahore in the second year of Akbar's reign, writes : " It is a very populous city, the resort of people of all nations and a centre of extensive commerce. In the shortest time great armies can be collected there, and ammunitions of war in any quantity can be procured for the use of troops."* A royal mint, carpet manufactory, and other establishments were founded there. The Emperor had a taste for gardening and sent for skilful gardeners from Persia to cultivate grapes and melons in Lahore. For fourteen years, namely, from 1584 to 1598, Akbar made Lahore his head-quarters, and from it conducted military operations against Kashmír, planned wars with the north-eastern Afgháns; undertook the conquest of Scindh and Candahár and arranged his campaigns with the Eusufzais, in one of which Rája Bir Bal, his greatest personal favorite, lost his life.†

He makes
it his head-
quarters.

Death of
Sheikh Moba-
rak, 1592
A. D.

On 17th Ziqadh, 1001 A. H. (1592 A. D.), Sheikh Mobarak, of Nagore, died at Lahore. He was the father of the celebrated Faizi and Abul Fazl, the greatest writers and politicians India has produced. He was a man of comprehensive genius and wrote a commentary on the Qoran in four volumes called the *Mumbiul Uyún*, and another work called the *Jamí-ul-Kalám*. He suffered from partial blindness towards the close of his life and died at the age of ninety. The year of his death is found in the words شيخ كامل "The perfect Sheikh."‡

The mys-
terious reser-
voir.

In the year 1002 A. H. (1593 A. D.) Hakím Ali Gilání§ constructed a wonderful reservoir (*hauz*) in the court-yard of the palace of Lahore. The bottom was reached by a stair-case connected with a passage which led to an adjoining room, six yards square, capable of holding a dozen people. The passage was so contrived that access to the chamber was obtained without the water flowing into it. When Akbar, plunging into the water, reached the bottom, he passed into a room which he found lighted up and furnished

* *Akbarnama*, p. 39, Vol. II.

† The event happened in 1586 A. D. His original name was Mahesh Das, and he came from Kálpi to Court soon after Akbar's accession. He belonged to the *Bhat* or Minstrel class called by the Persians *Badajárosh*, or 'a dealer in encomiums'. He became a great favorite of the Emperor on account of his *bonmots*, and the title of Kab Rai, or Poet *Laureate*, was conferred on him. He possessed poetical talent and was skilled in music; and his short Hindi verses, jokes and *bonmots*, are to this day, in general favor with the people of India.

‡ *Al-Baddoni*.

§ He was a native of Gilan in Persia, and was a personal attendant and friend of Akbar. Once the Emperor tried his skill as a physician by putting in separate bottles the urine of sick and healthy people and even of animals. To his great satisfaction the *Hakím* made a correct distinction of the various kinds shown to him.—*Blochmann*.

with bed-steads, cushions, and some books. Breakfast was provided of which the Emperor partook. Seventeen years before, another *Hakim* had made an attempt to construct a similar tank at Fatehpur, but the experiment failed. This time, however, *Hakim Ali* succeeded in constructing the mysterious tank, and *Mir Hyder*, a riddle-maker, found the date in the words *حوض حكيم علي*, "the pond of *Hakim Ali*", which gives 1002 A. H. as the date.* The Emperor had this pond filled with copper coin which amounted to twenty *karors*. His Majesty was fond of hearing the music of *Mian Tan Sen* and *Sheikh Banjhu*, unrivalled musicians of *Hindustán*, and he once ordered the *Sheikh* to carry off the whole of the sum of money in question. The *Sheikh*, being unequal to the task, asked the Emperor for some gold instead, and His Majesty presented him with Rs. 10,000 in exchange.

A short time before the time of his residence at Lahore, Akbar's religious views seem to have undergone fresh changes. He was anxious to unite in his person both the spiritual and the secular leadership, and he had been declared by the *Sadr-us-Sudur*, the Chief *Qázi* and the *Mufti* of the empire, to be the *Amir* of the faithful and the *Mujtahid* of the age, or the sole authority on points of Mahomedan law. Being at this time seized with suspicions against some of the *mullahs* of Lahore, His Majesty ordered *Qázi Sadr-ud-dín*, Lahori, a free-thinker, and other *mullahs*, such as *Abdul Shakur Guldár*, *Mullah Mahomed Masúm*, and others, to be banished from the city.†

Akbar's religious notions.

Mullahs banished from Lahore.

In the thirty-first year of the reign, the Emperor, during his residence at Lahore, married the daughter of *Ráe Singh*, son of *Ráe Kalian Mal*, to Prince *Salem*. His Majesty went to the house of the bridegroom's father with the bridal party, and after the nuptial ceremonies were over, presents were exchanged.‡ About this time *Abdulla Khán Uzbek*, King of *Turan*, having written to Akbar regarding his apostacy from Islam, *Mirán Sadr Jahan*, *Mufti* of the empire, and *Hakim Himam*, who possessed great influence at Court, were sent as ambassadors. In answer to the king of *Turan*'s communication, some Arabic verses composed by *Sheikh Faizi*, the Poet Laureate, were written, in which the charge of apostacy was

Marriage of Prince Salem with the daughter of *Ráe Singh*.

The king is charged with apostacy.

* *Al-Baddoni*, page 265. The reservoir is often mentioned by the Moghal historians. *Jahángir* visited it towards the close of 1600 A.D., and made *Hakim Ali* a commander of 2000. His son *Hakim Abdúl Waháb* was a *Mansabdár* at Lahore, being commander of 500 horse.—*Bádshahnáma*.

† *Al-Baddoni*, page 277.

‡ *Akbarnáma*, p. 326, Vol. III.

distinctly denied. How the great orator rebutted the charge will appear from the following verses :—

قيل إن الاله ذوو لـثـقـيل إن الرـمـول قد كـهـنا
مانـجـالـه والـرـمـول معـا—مـن لـسان الـوـري فكـيـف انا

“ People say of God he had a son,
Of the Prophet it is said he was a sorcerer,
Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped
The slander of men, then how should I ? ” *

He lays
claims to
apostleship.

In spite, however, of these professions, the Emperor, at no distant date, claimed for himself the rank of a prophet, and the formula was publicly adopted—

لا اله الا اله اكبر خليفته اله

“ There is no God, but God, and Akbar is God’s representative.”

About this time the Poet, *Mulla Sheri*, composed some odes descriptive of the king’s frenzy, of which the following are some :—

شورش مغز است اگر در خاطر آرد جاہلی
کز خلائق مہر پیغمبر جدا خواهد شدن
خندہ مے آید مرا زین بیت بس کز طرفگی
نقل بزم منعم و ورد گدا خواهد شدن
بادشاہ امسال دعوی نبوت کردہ است
گر خدا خواهد بس از سالی خدا خواهد شدن

“ It is utter confusion of brain if a fool take into his head,
That love of the Prophet can ever be banished from mankind,
I cannot repress laughter at the following couplet which, on account
of its novelty,
Will be recited at the tables of the rich and continually read by the
beggar,
‘ The King this year has laid claims to be a prophet,
After the lapse of a year, please God, he will become the Deity.’ ” †

Notwith-
standing his
eccentricity,
his ideas are
liberal.

Notwithstanding all his singularly eccentric behaviour in matters of religion, there can be no doubt that it was during his long residence at Lahore that the notions of religious liberality, for which Akbar was so conspicuous, were developed. He seemed there to have acted more in the spirit of an enquirer after truth than as a mere pretender, and his strict observance of religious toleration, his perfect freedom from partiality to any particular sect, the purity of his ideas, the sincerity of his sentiments and designs, and above all his keen appreciation of every thing really good in any religious system, endeared him to all his subjects and paved the way for his reaching the summit of human glory. Here His Majesty conversed freely with the learned doctors on points of religion, its principles, and divarications. His court was the resort

* *Akbarnāma*, p. 329, Vol. III. See also Blochmannn, p. 468.

† *Al-Buddoni*, p. 309.

of learned men of every creed and professors of different religions from every country, and they were admitted to converse with him. His Majesty erected two buildings outside the city for feeding poor Hindus and Mussalmans, one of which he called *Dharmpurá*,^{The Dharm-purá.} and the other *Khyrpurá*.^{The Khyr-purá.} In the latter the Jews and fire-worshippers were also entertained. The charge of these institutions was entrusted to Abul Fazl. As a large number of *jogis* also flocked to these establishments, a separate receiving-house was built for them, which got the name of *Jogipurá*.^{The Jogi-purá.} Meetings were held on the evening of each Sabbath at which, in the words of *Al-Baddāni*,^{Discussions held at these places.} "were discussed profound points of science; the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history and the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could give only a summary abstract," Men employed themselves in "contemplation, posturing, addresses, abstractions and reveries, and in alchemy, fascination and magic." The King himself is said to have become an adept in the art of alchemy, and exhibited before the assembly the gold he had made. Sometimes whole nights were passed in controversies, His Majesty remaining present throughout the proceedings, and evincing the greatest interest in the discussions which took place. Sometimes these meetings led to fatal results. Thus, *Mullah Ahmad*, a learned Shia, author of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, was assassinated in the streets of Lahore by Mirza Faulad Beg *Barlas*, because he had openly reviled the companions of the Prophet.† The Mirza was bound to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lahore "until at last," writes the *Sunni* narrator, "he attained the grade of martyrdom." The date of *Mullah Ahmad's* death is found in the words,

زهی خنجر فولاد

"Bravo! the dagger of steel."

After the burial of *Mullah Ahmad*, Sheikh Faizi and Sheikh Abul Fazl, set guards over his grave; but such was the hatred for the *Shia Mullah* that, in spite of all precautions, when His Majesty left for Kashmir, the people of Lahore, one night, disinterred his corpse and burnt it.‡

The Emperor adored the rising sun, and appeared daily at the *jharoka* window, or balcony, of the palace, to be worshipped by the people as an embodiment of the deity. He revived the old Persian festival of *Nauroz* in honor of the sun, adopting it for the celebration

Akbar's Hindu proclivities.

* *Al-Baddāni*, p. 324. A portion of *Khyrpurá* still remains in the vicinity of *Dārānagar* on the left road to Mian Mir.

† *Al-Baddāni*, p. 365.

‡ *Ibid.*

of his accession to the throne, and appointed Abul Fazl superintendent of fire temples. On the sun's entering the sign of Virgo, he had his forehead marked like a Hindu, and had *Rakhi* of twisted linen rags tied on his wrist by Brahmans as an amulet.

His notions
of Christianity.

The Portuguese
Missionaries at
Lahore, 1595
A.D.

Christian
Church and
School estab-
lished at La-
hore.

Lahore vi-
sited by four
English men,
1584.

But the Emperor's partiality was not confined to the followers of Brahma and of Zerdasht alone. He listened with patience to the advocates of every religion and took the most genuine interest in their disputations. He was courteous to the Christians to such a degree that his plausibility more than once led them to entertain the most sanguine hopes of their being able to make His Majesty a convert to their faith. For the third time, at the earnest request of the Emperor, the Portuguese government at Goa sent him missionaries, with all their books of law and gospel. The Court was then (1595 A. D.) at Lahore, which is described by the Fathers as "a delightful city." In their journal they describe, in glowing terms, the splendour of the king's court and the greatness of his army. "5,000 elephants, with iron-plates on their heads and their trunks and tusks armed with swords and daggers, marched in the rear of the cavalcade." The imperial residence is described as being situated on an island in the river whither they were conducted. His Majesty gave them the most gracious reception and was dazzled by an ornamented image of the Virgin which was exhibited to him. But they were discouraged on observing that the Emperor assiduously worshipped the rising sun, and was himself worshipped as a ray of the sun, that illuminator of the universe, or a light emanating from the Creator. Every morning Akbar presented himself at a window, and saw multitudes of people fall prostrate before him. The hopes of the Fathers not being realized, they eventually left for Goa. Jahangir, the son and successor of Akbar, was however, more liberal to the Portuguese Jesuits than his father. He allowed them to establish a mission and build a church and school at Lahore, and to preach where they pleased. He listened to the Fathers very attentively and even appointed stipends for the priests. These pensions were, however, withdrawn by Sháh Jahán, a stricter Mahomedan, who demolished the church.*

Lahore was also about this period (A. D. 1584) visited by four Englishmen—Messrs Newbury, Fitch, Storey and Leeds, members of the Levant Company in Turkey; but in the account of their travels no detailed description of the place exists.†

* Compare Thornton, page 122, and Wheeler, page 195, Vol. I.—Some traces of the Christian Church still remained when Lahore was visited by Thevenot, the French traveller, in 1665. A crucifix and a picture of the virgin were also at that time to be seen on the gateway of the fort.

† Thornton.

In the year 1585 A. D., Mirza Rustam, a relation of Sháh Ismail *Safvi* of Persia, having disagreed with his brother, came to Lahore with his family and dependents. He was honorably received by the Emperor, who sent the *Hakim* Enul-Mulk, *Khán-i-Khánán*, Zen Khán *Koka* and other grandees of the empire, to receive him at a distance of four *kos* from the city. At the interview with the Emperor, he was presented with one *Karor Tanka* in cash and created an *Amír* with a rank of 5,000. Multán was assigned him as a *jagir*, and His Majesty supplied him with articles of household use, such as carpets, utensils, &c., valued at many thousands of rupees.*

A Persian Prince settles at Lahore.

In 1586 A. D., Mirza Nizam-ud-dín Ahmad, author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, died at Lahore, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in "his garden at Lahore." "Among the gentry and the public of Lahore," writes *Al-Badā'oni*, "there were few who did not weep at his funeral, or who, recollecting his kind and courteous deportment, did not express sorrow on the occasion."† The following was found as the date of his death :—

Death of Mirza Nizam-ud-dín Ahmad, 1586.

رفت میرزا نظام الدین احمد—موت عقی و چست وزیبارفت
جوهر او زبسکه عالی بود—در جوار ملک تعالی رفت
قادری یافت مال تاریخش—گوهر بی بها ز دنیا رفت

"Mirza Nizam-ud-dín Ahmad,
Departed for the world of futurity,
And he departed with vigilance and in a becoming way.
His essence being high,
He went in to the regions of the holy angels.
Qádiri found the year of his death,—
An invaluable pearl has departed from the world."

The year 1595 is memorable in history for the death of Sheikh Faizi, the Poet Laureate of Akbar's court. He was a diplomatist, a poet and a writer, and was dear to the heart of his sovereign. He fell ill at Lahore in the autumn of 1595, his complaint developing into pulmonary apoplexy. A touching account of his last moments is given by *Al-Badā'oni* :—"When he was in his last agonies," writes the author, "the king went to him at midnight, and, gently raising his head with his own hand, cried out many times, 'Sheikh Jio, I have brought Hakím Ali with me, why don't you speak to me?' The patient, having lost the power of speech, returned no reply. Again did His Majesty put the same question; but no reply came. Upon this the Emperor, overpowered with grief, tore off his turban and threw it on the ground. He then went away, after speaking some words of consolation to Sheikh

Death of Sheikh Faizi, 1595 A.D.

The grief of the Emperor on his death.

* *Al-Badā'oni*, p. 388.

† *Al-Badā'oni*, p. 397.

Abúl Fazl. Faizi expired immediately afterwards. The event occurred on 5th October 1595. Badáoni finds the date of his death in the words,

فائدة الھاد شکست

“The institute of atheism is broken.”

Lahore associated with the brightest period of Akbar's reign. It would seem from the above summary that Lahore was associated with the brightest period of Akbar's reign. When he quit-
ted it, in the forty-third year of his reign, after a residence of four-
teen years,* and moved to Agra on his way to the Deccan, he left
the royal seraglio with Prince Khurram (Sháh Jahán), in Lahore,
in charge of Khwája Shams-ud-dín *Khawáfí*. The Khwája continu-
ed in this office until the forty-fourth year of the reign, when Akbar's
mother, with the Begams, returned to Agra. Shams-ud-dín died
at Lahore in the following year and was buried in the family vault,
in the quarter of the town which he had built, and which, in his
honor, was called *Khawáfí-pura*.†

The following men of note flourished at Lahore during the reign of Akbar :—

Mirza Ibra-
hím.

1. *Mirza Ibráhím*, son of Mirza Suleman (son of Khán Mirza, son of Sultán Mahmúd, son of Abú Saíd Mirza, grandson of Qutb-ud-dín Amir Tymúr *Gorgan*), commander of five thousand. Mirza Sulemán was born in 920 A. H. (1514 A.D.), and died at Lahore in 997 A. H. (1588 A.D.) He was known as Wáli Badakhshán and was sixth in descent from Tymúr. His wife, Khurram Begam, was a clever woman and had her husband in her power. She got Mohtarim Khánan, the widow of prince Kámrán, married against her wish to Mirza Ibráhím, by whom she had a son, Mirza Sháh Rukh.

Mirza Rus-
tam.

2. *Mirza Rustam*, son of Behrámi Mirza, son of Sháh Ismail *Safví*. Akbar made him commander of five thousand and gave him Multán as *jagír*. He was appointed governor of Lahore for some time. He married his daughter to Prince Dara Shekoh, and died, 72 years old, in 1051 A. H. (1641 A.D.) or during the reign of Sháh Jahán.

Mir Ma-
homéd.

3. *Khán-i-Kánal Mir Mahomed*, elder brother of Atgah Khán. He was commander of five thousand and served with distinction under Kámrán Mirza and Humayún. Akbar appointed him governor of the Panjáb, and he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghakkars.

* *Akbarnáma*, p. 514, Vol. III.

† *Blochmann*, page 446.

4. *Saïd Khan*, son of Yakub Beg. He rose to the highest honours under Akbar, who appointed him governor of the Panjáb, in supersession of Sháh Quli Mahram, who had become unpopular in the Province. Saïd Khán.

5. *Khán-i-Khánán Mirza Abdul Rahím*, son of Behrá Mirza Abdul Rahím.
Khán. He was born at Lahore in 946 A. H. (1539 A. D.). When Mahabat Khán had to fly from the Panjáb, having failed in his scheme to retain possession of the Emperor Jahangir's person, Nur Jahán appointed Mirza Abdul Rahím to follow up Mahabat, and she herself contributed twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. Before, however, the scheme had been carried out, the Mirza was taken ill at Lahore, and, on his arrival at Delhi, died, at the age of seventy-two, in 1036 A. H. (1626 A.D.), or one year before the death of Jahangir. The words,

خان سپہ سالار کو

"Where is the Khan Commander of the Army."

give the year of his death.

6. *Zen Khán*, son of *Khuvája Maqsud Ali*, of Herat.—He was commander of five thousand five hundred in Akbar's time. On Humayún's flight to Persia, Maqsud was constantly in attendance on Akbar's mother and was attached to the royal family in all its misfortunes. In the forty-first year of the reign, he was appointed governor of Cábul, *vice* Quli Khán. In the same year Prince Salem fell in love with Zen Khán's daughter, whom he soon after married, though Akbar was displeased with this act. On the death of Jalál Khán *Raushnáí*, the disturbances in Zábulistán came to an end, and Zen Khán was called to Lahore. He died in 1010 A. H. (1601 A.D.), or four years before the death of Akbar. He was a good poet, and played on several musical instruments. Zen Khán.

The *Maidan* of Zen Khán, outside the *Mochi* Gate, is still called after his name. Here the garden of Zen Khán stood, and the quarter was known after his name.

7. *Mirza Yusuf Khán*, son of Mir Ahmad Razvi. He was a Mirza Yusuf.
Syad of Mesh-hed, and was much liked by Akbar. In the beginning of Sháh Jahán's reign, he received the title of Saf Shikan Khan. He withdrew from public life at Lahore, where he received a pension of Rs. 12,000, and died in 1055 A. H. (1645 A. D.)

8. *Mahdí Qásam Khán*.—Akbar made him commander of Mahdi Qásam Khán.
four thousand. He died in 1001 A. H. (1592 A. D.)*

* *Ma'ásir*.—Vide pages 26 and 27 ante.

Sháh Quli
Mahram.

9. *Sháh Quli Mahram*, commander of three thousand five hundred. He served with distinction in the war with Hemú. According to the *Akbarnáma*, it was Sháh Quli that attacked the elephant of Hemú, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow from the field of battle. He did not know, at the time, who his opponent was ; but, the driver having made him a sign, Sháh Quli brought the wounded commander to Akbar.

After the death of Behráam, Sháh Quli was created an *Amír* of the empire, and, in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign, was appointed governor of the Panjáb in succession to Khán Jahán, who had been sent to Bengal.

Husein
Khán.

10. *Husein Khán (Tukriyal)*. He was sister's son and also son-in-law to Mahdi Qásam Khán. In the second year of the reign, Akbar made him governor of Lahore. When Akbar marched to Delhi, in Saffar 965 A. H. (1557 A. D.), he appointed Husein Khán governor of the Panjáb. He was a zealous *Sunni*, and, during his incumbency of office, he ordered that the Hindus, as unbelievers, should wear a patch (*Tukra*) near their shoulders, to distinguish them from the Mahomedans. Hence the nickname given to him, *Tukria*, or "patchy."*

Sheikh Fa-
rid.

11. *Sheikh Faríd Bukhári*.—When Prince Khusrow left Agra for the Panjáb, plundering and recruiting Lahore, Sheikh Farid, with many Bokhári and Bárá Sayads, was sent in pursuit of him, Jahángir following him with Mahábat Khán and Sharif Khán *Amír-ul-Umera*. He attacked the Prince and defeated him. In the fifth year of Jahángir's reign the Sheikh was appointed governor of the Panjáb. In 1021 A. H. (1612 A. D.) he made preparations for Kangra, but died in 1025 A. H. (1616 A. D.) and was buried at Lahore. He built a *mohalla* in Lahore, which was called after his name.†

Farhat
Khán.

12.—*Farhat Khán*.—He joined Mirza Kámrán, with other grandees, when Humayún left Lahore, on his march to Sirhand, and was appointed *Subedar* of Lahore. When Sháh Abul Ma'ali was appointed governor of the Panjáb, he sent away Farhat Khán, who joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjáb.

Khawaja
Shams-ud-
dín.

13. *Khawja Shams-ud-dín Khawáfí*.—Khawáf is a town and district in Khorasan, and the *Amir* was a resident of that place. His father's name was Khawja Ala-ud-dín, a man of much respect in Khawáf. Shams-ud-dín was successively made *Diwan* and *Subedar*

* *Ain-i-Akbari*.

† *Tuzuk Jahángiri*.

of Cábul, then the Diwán of the empire in the place of Qulij Khán. In the forty-third year of the reign he was put in charge of the Panjáb, and died in Lahore in 1008 A. H. (1592 A. D.) The Khwája had made his vault at Baba Hasan Abdál, which was, however, used as the burial place of Hakím Abul Fath Gilaní* by order of the Emperor Akbar, and Shams-ud-dín was buried in Lahore, in the quarter of the town which he had himself built, and which, in honor of his name, was called *Khawáfpura*.

14. *Mír Murád Ju Waini*.†—He was an excellent shot and Akbar had appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurram (Sháh Jahán). He died in the forty-sixth year of Akbar's reign as Badakhshi of Lahore. Mír Murád
Ju Waini.

15. *Mirza Qulij Khán*.—He was made governor of the Panjáb and fought well against the *Roushnais*. The *Ma'asir* relates a story which would show the arbitrary power exercised by those in authority during the time when the Mirza held the government of this country. He had two sons, Mirza Chin Qulij and Mirza Lahori, described as wicked men. The latter buried one of his servants alive, with the object of learning something about *Munkir* and *Nakír*, the two angels who, agreeably to the Mahomedan belief, are supposed to examine the spirits of the departed in the tomb, beating the corpse with red hot sledge hammers if the dead is found wanting in faith. The man, on being dug out, was found to be dead. At another time, when his father was governor of Lahore, he disturbed a Hindu wedding party and carried off the bride by force. The aggrieved people complained to his father, who told them that they should be glad that they were now related to the Subedár of Lahore.‡ Mirza Qulij
Khán.

16. *Mauláná Hisám-ud-dín*, surnamed Surkh. He was a native of Lahore, and was noted for his learning and piety. He made theology and philosophy the subjects of his study.§ Mauláná
Hisám-ud-
dín.

17. *Sháh Dáúd*, called Jhanní Wal, from his residence in Jhanni, near Lahore. He was a learned man and died in 982 A. H. (1574 A. D.). Sháh Dáúd.

18. *Mauláná Mahomed*.—He lived at Lahore, and was, in 1004 A. H (1595 A.D.), nearly ninety years of age. Mauláná
Mahomed.

19. *Mauláná Abd-us-Salám*.—He lived at Lahore. He was a great lawyer (*fakih*) and wrote a commentary to Baizaivi. He Mauláná
Abd-us-Sa-
lám.

* Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, page 425.

† From Ju Waini a town of Khorasán on the road to Candahár.

‡ Blochmann, page 501.

§ *Tabakát-i-Akbari*.

died, more than ninety years old, in the first year of Sháh Jahán's reign.

Mauláná Ishaq. 20. *Mauláná Ishaq.*—He was the son of Sheikh Kákú, and lived at Lahore. He was famous for his learning, and Sheikh Sa'adulláh, Sheikh Munawar and many others were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old, and was buried at Lahore.*

Mír Nur-ulláh. 21. *Mír Nurulláh.*—He was introduced to Akbar by Hakím Abul Fath, and had a great reputation for learning. When Sheikh Múin, Qázi of Lahore, retired, he was appointed his successor.

Mauláná Jamál. 22. *Mauláná Jamál.*—*Badá'oni* mentions Mauláná Jamál, of Tala (تلہ), which is said to have been a *mohalla* of Lahore, as a learned man of the time of Akbar.

Mauláná Ismail. 23. *Mauláná Ismail.*—According to the *Tabakát*, he was *Mufti* of Lahore during the reign of Akbar.

Sheikh Munawar. 34. *Sheikh Munawar.*—He was born at Lahore and was an *Ulema* of much renown. Under the orders of the Emperor, he, with Mulla Ahmad, of Thatta (Scindh), and Qásam Beg, translated the *Majni-ul-Baldán*, a work on towns and countries, from Arabic into Persian. He is the author of the *Maskar-i-Qul-Anwár*, a work on *Hadis*, the *Badi-ul-Bayán*, the *Irshadi Qazi*, &c. When the learned men of Lahore were banished, by the order of the Emperor, he was sent to Gwalior where he died in prison in 1011 A. H. (1602 A. D.).

Jahangir. *Jahangir.*—Sultán Salem ascended the throne at Agra, in 1606; in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Of his assuming the title of Jahangir (conqueror of the world), he writes in his memoirs

ملہم غیب بخاطرم انداخت کہ کار بادشاہان جہانگیرست
خود را جہانگیر نام نہم ولقب خود را چون جلوس در وقت طلوع
حضرت نیراعظم و نورانی گشتن عالم واقعہ شدہ نورالدین مازم*

The title assumed by Prince Salem. "The invisible inspirer put it into my mind that, since the business of kings is to conquer the world, I might call myself by the name of 'Jahangir' (conqueror of the world); and, inasmuch as my accession to the throne had taken place when the sun was in the ascendant and was imparting brilliancy to the world, I might assume the title of Nur-ud-dín (the light of religion.)"

The governorship of the Panjáb was given to Saíd Khan, a chief of the Moghal tribe, and one of the distinguished grandees of Akbar's court.

* His tomb is situated east of Mozaug. See Chapter II.

Six months after his accession, his eldest son, Khusrow, broke into open rebellion. He fled from Agra to Lahore, to which he laid siege. Dilawar Khán, the imperial general, coming from Panipat, by rapid marches, to Lahore, put the fortress and the city in a state of defence, with the help of Mirza Husain and Abdul Rahím, Dewans, and Nur-ud-dín Quli, Kotwal, or Chief Police officer, of Lahore, and Jahangir himself followed, at the head of a large army. Khusrow promised his followers that, after the capture of the town, they should be allowed to plunder it for seven days, and that the women and children should be made captives of war. His followers set one of the gates on fire; but Dilawar Khán and other officers of the imperial army within the city walls set up another barrier at the gate. Khusrow, being informed of approach of the imperial army, thought it advisable to risk an engagement, and the two forces met at Bhaironwál, half way between Jullundur and Amritsar. A severe action was fought, in which the Sayads of Bárá under Sheikh Faríd Bokhári, greatly distinguished themselves on the side of the Imperialists, who obtained a complete victory over the enemy, of whom nearly 400 fell. The enemy dispersed, and the siege of Lahore was raised. Khusrow was seized while attempting to cross the Chenab, and was led before his imperial father in fetters, in the garden of Mirza Kám-rán. Two of his principal advisers, Husain Beg and Mirza Azíz, were on his right and left. The Prince stood between them, trembling and weeping. He was taken into custody; but his two counsellors, just named, were inclosed in the raw skins of a cow and an ass and paraded round the city, seated on asses, with their faces to the tail. A double row of sharp stakes was set up from the garden of Mirza Kám-rán, called the *Nowlakha*,* to the city gates, and 700 of the conspirators were impaled alive. The Emperor witnessed the scene "seated in the royal pavilion built by his father on the principal tower in the citadel, from which to view the combats of elephants,"† The culprits died in most excruciating pain. Khusrow himself, deeply dejected, with tears and groans, was slowly conducted on an elephant along the ghastly avenue, a mace-bearer, with mock dignity, calling out to him to receive the salutations of his followers. His life was spared, but he was kept in close confinement.

Rebellion
of Khusrow.

He besieges
Lahore.

Battle of
Bhaironwál.

The enemy
defeated.

Horrible
punishment
of the rebels.

Gurú Arjan, the fourth Sikh Gurú, and the compiler of the Adi-Granth, or the writings of his predecessors, was charged with

Gurú Arjan.

* The gateway of *Nowlakha*, beautifully decorated with glazed tiles, existed until lately, but it has been dismantled now.—*File Chapter II.*

† *Wákiát-i-Jahangiri*, p. 88.

assisting Khusrow in the prosecution of his designs against the Emperor, and was placed in confinement. The Emperor notices the event as follows in his autobiography :—

“ In Govind Wál, on the banks of the Biah (Beas), there lived a Hindu, named Arjan, who had assumed the garb of a spiritual guide, or *Sheikh*. He made numbers of stupid Hindus, nay, even foolish and ignorant Mussalmans, captives to his wiles and had the drum of his sanctity loudly beaten. They called him Gurú. Disciples flocked around him from all sides and evinced the greatest respect for him. They had been practising this mendacity for three or four generations. The idea struck me several times to put a stop to this trickery, or to make the Gurú a convert to Mahomedanism, till, at last, at this time, Khusrow crossed the river in that direction. The Gurú wanted to see him, and he happened to encamp at the place where the Gurú lived. He had an interview with the Prince and supplied him with much information. He applied to the Prince's forehead the mark of saffron, called in the dialect of the Hindus *Kashka* ; they do it by way of good omen. No sooner did I hear this, than, convinced as I was of the absurdity of the notion, I ordered the Gurú to be brought into my presence. I ordered his sons and his habitations and dwellings to be made over to Murtaza Khán. All his property was confiscated to the State, and he himself placed in rigorous confinement.”

The Gurú's death.

Arjan died from the rigours of his confinement, though his followers attribute his death to a miracle.*

Lahore visited by the potentates of Asia and their agents.

Jahangir was fond of Lahore, and, on his way to Cábul and Kashmír, held his court there. After settling the affairs of Lahore, the Emperor visited Cábul during the first year of his reign, leaving Kalij Khan as his governor.† The Court was held at Lahore in the following year, when His Majesty was visited by the Amírs of Irak and Khorasán, the envoy of Persia, and the agent of the Sharíf of Mecca, for whom gifts, valued at one lakh of rupees, were forwarded.

Sheikh Farid Bokhári appointed governor of the Panjáb.

In the fifth year of the reign Sheikh Farid Bokhári, who had defeated Khusrow on the banks of the Beas, and who had now been honored with the title of *Murtaza Khán*, was appointed governor of the Panjáb. At Lahore, he built a *mohalla* after his name, a large bath and a *chowk*, or square.‡

* *Vide* Chapter II.

† *Iqbálnáma Jahangíri* of Motamid Khan, Paymaster General of Jahangir.

‡ He gave the government officers under him three *Khilats*, or dresses of honor, annually ; he gave to his footmen a blanket annually and never made any alterations in his gift.—*Mu'asir*.

The Emperor, in his memoirs, takes occasion to speak in the warmest terms of his friendship with Sháh Abbás of Persia, and calls him "brother Abbás." Friendly letters from His Persian Majesty are quoted as proof of the esteem in which the Emperor was held by him. These letters are highly interesting, not only as specimens of imperial eloquence, but as showing the cordial relations then existing between two nations so remote from each other. The gorgeous entertainments given at Lahore by Asif Khán, the Prime Minister, to the Emperor and his *Harem*, are described in glowing terms, and presents and curiosities valued at lakhs of rupees were exchanged on these occasions. The garden of Diláwez, across the Ravi, and the garden of Mirza Kámrán, in the suburbs of the town, were in high favor with the Emperor, who passed many festive days there in the company of his *Harem* and the *omerahs*. The Emperor was fond of sport and constantly visited Jahangirabád, or *Hiran Mindra*, the modern Shekhupura. A royal antelope, called "Mans Raj," to which the Emperor had taken a fancy, died here in the second year of the reign. The Emperor ordered a handsome monument to be raised over its remains, on which a life-size statue of the animal, in stone, was placed, the following Persian inscription being engraved on a slab of stone affixed to the grave :

Friendly relations of the Emperor with Sháh Abbás of Persia.

Entertainments at Lahore.

The King's fondness for gardens.

His love of sports.

A favourite antelope.

درین فضائی دلکش آهوئی بدام جهاندار خدا آگاه نورالدین
جهانگیر بادشاه آمده درعرض یک ماه از وحشت صحرایت بر
آمده سرآمده آهوان خاصه گشت *

"At this beautiful spot an antelope was caught by the pious King, Nur-ud-dín Jahangir, which, in the course of a month, abandoning its savage and wild habits, became the head of the royal antelopes."

The inscription was in the hand-writing of Mulla Mohamed Husain, *Kashmíri*, famous for the art of caligraphy. Out of regard for the memory of the deceased animal, the Emperor ordered that no Hindu or Mahomedan should hunt deer within the limits of the place.

The same year Sultán Sháh, *Afghán*, who had assisted Khusrow in effecting his escape from confinement, was apprehended by Mír Moghal *Karori*, of Khizrabád, and shot with arrows (تیرباران) on the parade ground of Lahore, by the order of the Emperor.

A criminal shot with arrows.

On the first day of Shawál, the Emperor paid his respects to Mauláná Mahomed Amín, a holy man of Lahore. He writes the following interesting particulars of this visit :—

The King's visit to a holy man.

"On the first of Shawál I had an interview with Mauláná

His account
of this visit.

Mahomed Amín, a disciple of Sheikh Mahmúd Kamál. Shakh Mahmúd was a holy man of his time, and his late Majesty, *Jammat Ashiani* (Humayún), entertained great respect for him. Once His Majesty poured water on his hands himself. The above-named Mauláná is a pious man. Notwithstanding his worldly connections, he is distinguished by independence of character and contentment, and has command over his spirit. I was much pleased with his society. I related to him some of the anxieties of my heart. He gave me wholesome advice, and his conversation was pleasing to my mind, and afforded me consolation. Having given him one thousand *bighas* of land, as an assistance towards his maintenance, and one thousand rupees cash, I took leave of him."

The Emperor then left Lahore for Agra, after conferring a *khilat* of honor on Kalij Khán, the governor, Mír Kawám-ud-din, the Dewan, Sheikh Yusuf, *Bakhshi*, and Jamalullah, *Kotwal*.

The following Lahore incident is recorded in the ninth year of the reign —

A curious
incident.

"In these days the news-writer of Lahore submitted the intelligence that, towards the close of the month of *Tir*, ten persons left Lahore for the town of Emanabad, twelve *kos* from the capital. A hot wind having begun to blow, they took shelter under the shade of a tree, when they were immediately overtaken by a whirlwind so burning and violent that they were seized with trembling, and nine of them died instantaneously on the spot. One, who survived, remained ill for a long time, and it was only after going through great troubles that he recovered. All the birds that were on the tree fell dead. The weather became pestilential to such a degree in those parts that wild beasts threw themselves down in the fields, and rolling on the grass, breathed their last. Numerous animals died in this way."

The great
pestilence.

In the tenth year of the reign, the Panjáb was visited by a severe pestilence, of which Lahore had its share. The whole of Sirhand and the Doáb, up to Delhi, was devastated by the disease, and thousands of villages were destroyed. Jahangir ascribes it to two years' drought with which the country had been visited, and to some kind of poison with which the air became infected.

Jahangir's
kos minars
and wells.

Already shady trees on both sides of roads had been planted from Agra to Lahore, under orders of Jahangir. His Majesty, in the fourteenth year of his reign, ordered a minaret to be built from Agra to Lahore at every *kos*, to be called *Kos Minar*, and a *pacca*

well to be constructed at every three *kos* on the grand trunk road, for the benefit of travellers.*

The Emperor, being desirous of an interview with Sheikh Mahomed Mir, the saint of Lahore, commonly called Mian Mir, on account of his learning and holiness, and being unable himself to visit Lahore at the time, invited him to Agra in the fourteenth year of the reign. The *Darvesh* accepted the invitation. The Emperor was much pleased with the result of the interview and speaks highly in his memoirs of the spiritual power and vast learning of the saint. He writes, "Truly, he is the beloved of God. In sanctity and purity of soul, he has no equal in this age. This humble servant (namely the Emperor) used to go to the *Darvesh*, who explained to him many minute points of theology. It was my desire to make him an offer of money; but as he was above worldly things, I dared not make the offer, and contented myself with the presentation of a skin of an antelope, to serve as a mat for reading prayers. He then left immediately for Lahore."

The Emperor invites the Saint Mian Mir to Agra.

His account of the Saint's accomplishments.

After visiting Kashmír, the Emperor fixed his Court at Lahore, in the fifteenth year of the reign. From Jahángirabád he visited Lahore. The Emperor writes the following interesting account of these places in the *Tuzuk* :—

"On the 25th of the month of 'Náhi,' the royal camp was pitched at Jahángirabád. This was my hunting place when I was a Prince. I founded here a village after my name, and, having constructed here a small edifice, gave the management of it to Sikandar Mobin, my *Keráwal*. After my accession, I converted it into a pargana, and bestowed it, as a *jagir*, on Sikandar. I then ordered a palace to be constructed there, with a tank and a tower. On Sikandar's death, the estate was given in *jagir* to Iradat Khán, who had also the management of the buildings. About this time the construction of these edifices was completed. The tank laid out is large and delightful. In the midst of it is an edifice highly pleasing and attractive. The buildings have cost a total sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees. The hunting ground is truly worthy of kings. We staid here on Friday and Saturday and amused ourselves with hunting of different kinds. Qásam Khán, the governor of Lahore, paid his respects here and offered a present of fifty gold mohars. One stage from this place is the garden of Momin, the *Ishqbaz*, on the banks of the Lahore river. The royal camp was pitched at this spot. There are in this garden

His description of his hunting-ground.

The garden of Momin.

* Some of these *kos minars* still exist on the old road to Delhi and Agra.

The royal
entry in La-
hore.

fine plants and tall and graceful cypress trees with a beautiful mango plantation. On the 5th of Moharram, being the 9th of the Ilahi month, 1031 A. H., having taken our royal seat on the elephant called Indar, we left the garden of Momin, and, scattering money by way of *nissar* (sacrifice), we marched to the city. Three watches and two hours after sunrise, at a propitious moment, we entered the palace, and, amidst the congratulations and warm greetings of the people, put up in the edifices which had been newly built under the management of Mámur Khán."

The King's
description
of his new
palaces.

Of the beauty and elegance of these palaces the Emperor writes:—

یہ تکلف منازل دلکشا و نشیمن ہاے روح افزا در غایت
لطافت و نزاہت ہم منقش و مصور بعمل اومستادان نادرہ کار
آرامتگی یافتہ باغہای سبز خورم بانواع و اقسام گل و ریاحین
نظر فریب گشتہ

ز فرق تا بقدم ہر کجا کہ مینگرم
کرشمہ دامن دل میکشد کہ جا این جامت

بالجملہ مبلغ ہفت لکمہ روپیہ کہ بیست و مسہ ہزار تومان
رائج ایران باشد صرف این عمارت شدہ

"Without exaggeration these are mansions delightful and charming and habitations lovely and attractive, exquisitely fine and elegant, adorned throughout with paintings and engravings, the work of the artists of the age. The sight was charmed with a view of verdant gardens, laid out with a profusion of flowers and odoriferous plants of great variety and description:—

From head to feet wherever I behold thee,

Beauty attracts the heart at each step urging, 'that is the place for thee!'"

In all seven lakhs of rupees, equal to twenty-three *Tomans* of the current coin of Irán, were spent on this building."*

The Emperor writes proudly of the capture of the fort of Kángrá, hitherto not reached by the Mahomedan arms. Sultán Feroz Sháh attempted it at the head of a large army, but failed. The army of Akbar attacked it, under Khán Jahán; but the siege was raised. Abdul Azíz Khán *Nakshbandi* was appointed Qiladar of Kángrá, and subsequently the Emperor himself visited it.

Sumptuous
entertain-
ments.

His Majesty paid a visit to the new palace of Prince Khurram, and was pleased to accept the invitation of Qásam Khan, to whom he paid a visit in his gardens in the environs of Lahore, scattering

* The buildings alluded to face the gate of the fort on the west. The painted walls can be still seen. Vide the account of the fort in Chapter II.

ten thousand rupees as *nissar* on the way. The Lahore governor presented His Majesty with a ruby and a diamond, of great beauty and excellence, besides other curiosities.

The same year (15th year of the reign) was marked by great rejoicings, which took place at Lahore on the betrothal of the son of Shahr Yár, the fifth son of the Emperor, with the daughter of Núr Jahán by Ali Quli Beg *Turkman*, the grand-daughter of I'timad-ud-daula Madar-ul-Mulk, His Majesty's Prime Minister. The Emperor sent gifts and valuables valued at a lakh of rupees, as *Sanchak*, or betrothal present. The Prime Minister gave a grand feast to the Imperial Omerahs in his new palace at Lahore. The Emperor writes in high terms of this palace, which was furnished with elegant suites of rooms and stately halls. His Majesty and the royal Harem graced it with a visit, and were sumptuously entertained by the old Minister. After these events the Emperor marched to Agra.

Betrothal of the Emperor's grandson.

The Minister's palace.

On the way, His Majesty was entertained near Jullundur by Núr Jahán, in her new *Seráe*, called the "Núr Seráe Mahal." "At this spot," writes the Emperor, "the agents of Núr Jahán had built a spacious *Seráe* and laid out a garden worthy of royalty. The buildings were complete. The Begam solicited the acceptance of an entertainment to which I gave my assent. She arranged a grand banquet, which, in its elegance and gaiety, surpassed all of its kind. She presented a variety of curiosities and valuable gifts. I selected some of these out of regard for her, and halted there for two days. Mír Quám-ud-din, Dewán of the *Suba* of the Panjáb, was permitted to return to Lahore."

The Seráe of Núr Mahal.

His Majesty entertained by Núr Jahán.

In the nineteenth year of the reign, Yamin-ud-daula Asif Khán was appointed viceroy of Lahore, in succession to Sádiq Khán. Lahore continued to prosper under his munificent administration, and his taste for architecture tended much to embellish the town and the citadel; but the Emperor's own end was near. His last days were embittered by the treason of Núr Mahal, his beloved consort, who, no longer guided by the wholesome counsel of her good father and mother (who had both died by this time), began to concoct plans for usurping the empire, and advancing the interests of her own son-in-law, Shahr Yár, to the deprivation of Sháh Jahán, the rightful heir. Sháh Jahán's *jagirs* in Hissar and the Doáb were confiscated and made over to Shahr Yár, and the Prince was told to select equivalent estates in the Deccan and Gujrat.* This drove the Prince into revolt. The Emperor fell ill in Kashmír

Asif Khán appointed governor of Lahore.

The Emperor's death, 1628 A. D.

* *Iqbalnāma Jahangirī*, page 196, edition of 1865, Calcutta.

and was on his way to Lahore when he died at Rájouri, in 1628 A.D., in the twenty-second year of his reign. His body was sent to Lahore, under charge of Maqsd Khán, and, according to the will of the deceased was interred in the garden of Núr Jahán, on the banks of the Ravi, on the morning of Friday.

The birth
of Sháh Ja-
hán, 1592 A.
D.

Sháh Jahán.—Sultán Khurram (Sháh Jahán) was born at Lahore on 30th Rabi-ul-Awal 1000 A. H. (1592 A. D.), his mother being the daughter of Ude Singh, Rána of Márwár. He received the title of Sháh Jahán from his father in 1616, when he was nominated successor of the Emperor, as well as Commander-in-chief of the army of the Deccan. When Jahángir died, Sháh Jahán was in the Deccan. Núr Jahán wished to raise to the throne Shahr Yár, to whom she had married her daughter Mehr-ul-nissa by Sher Afgan. Shahr Yár, who from his want of abilities, got the nickname *Náshudni* ناشدنی (good for nothing), was in Lahore when he heard of the Emperor's death, and, instigated by his intriguing wife, proclaimed himself emperor. He seized upon the royal treasure and all the establishments of government at Lahore.

Shahr Yár
proclaimed
Emperor at
Lahore.

To win the favor of the soldiery and the nobles, he wasted seventy lakhs of rupees in gifts and presents, and collected around him an army of fifteen thousand men. In the meanwhile, Yamin-ud-daula Asif Khán, acting in conjunction with Khán-i-Azim (Irádat Khán), raised the royal canopy over the head of Dáwar Bakhsh, surnamed Boláki, son of Khusrow, near Bhimber, the object being to avoid the chances of rebellion and gain time for the arrival of Prince Khurram at the capital to assume the royal titles. Boláki, being saluted as king, proceeded to Lahore; and the royal troops under him encountered the mercenaries raised by Shahr Yár at a distance of three *kos* from the city. The latter, unable to face the imperialists, broke and fled. Shahr Yár concealed himself in the ladies' apartments in the citadel, but was, the following day, brought out by a eunuch, placed in confinement, and, three days afterwards, blinded. Sháh Jahán was proclaimed at Lahore, and the *Khutba*

He is de-
feated and
blinded.

Proclama-
tion of Sháh
Jahán as Em-
peror.

He puts
the Princes
of the royal
blood to
death at La-
hore.

read in his name in all the mosques. Shahr Yár, Dáwar Bakhsh, with his brother, Gar Shásp, and Tahmures and Hoshing, sons of the drunken Dániál, who had espoused the cause of Shahr Yár, were all put to death at Lahore.

Khizmat
Parast Khán
appointed
viceroy of
Lahore.

Sháh Jahán
particularly
attached to
Lahore.

Khizmat Parast Khán was appointed viceroy of Lahore, and a dress of honour, consisting of a jewelled sword, dagger and rich stuffs, was received for Yamin-ud-daula Asif Khán.

Sháh Jahán was particularly attached to Lahore, as his birth-place. According to the *Badsháhnáma*, the royal *Harem* of Jahangir

remained in the palace of Lahore until the fourth year of the reign, when they were conducted to Agra by Motamid Khán. The royal Princes, for the most part, lived here with the *Harem*. It was the resort of the nobles and learned men, who were honored with rich presents on the occasion of their visit to the capital. The carpet manufactory of Lahore, established by Sháh Jahán, is the subject of praise in the account of the sixth year of the Emperor's reign. "So soft and delicate are these carpets," says Abdul Hamíd "that, compared with them, the carpets made in the manufactory of the King of Persia look like coarse canvas." These were made of *pashm* and *shawl*. A similar manufactory existed in Kashmír. All the rooms in the royal palace were furnished with these beautiful carpets.

The Carpet
Manufactory.

After his accession to the throne, Sháh Jahán held his court at Lahore in 1038 A. H. (1628 A. D.). Hakim Ilm-ud-din, sur-named Wazir Khán, was then viceroy of the Panjáb. An interesting account of the Emperor's visit to Lahore is given in the *Badsháhnáma* of Abdul Hamíd :—"The royal camp, having moved from the tank of Khawaja Hoshiár, in the environs of Lahore, reached the capital on the 7th of Ramzan. At some distance from the town, His Majesty was received with great pomp by Wazir Khán (who presented him with one thousand *Ashrafs*, by way of *Nissar*), the grandees and nobles of Lahore and the Subedárs of Provinces. He entered the palace in state after the first watch of the day. On the 9th, Wazir Khán presented His Majesty with jewels, gold and silver utensils, rich stuffs, carpets, horses and camels, valued at four lakhs of rupees, which he had collected during the period of his viceroyalty in the Panjáb. The same day, Saíd Khán, Subedár of Cábul, having had the honour of an audience, presented His Majesty with one thousand *Ashrafs*, one hundred horses, and one hundred camels. Kalich Khán, governor of Multán, made a present of eighteen horses of Irák, together with curiosities of Persia. The rank of Nijabat Khán, Faujdar of Kángra, was raised, and other Subedárs were similarly honored. The whole of the presents amounted to ten lakhs of rupees." On the 15th, His Majesty visited the mausoleum of *Jannat Makani* (Jahángir), and distributed rupees ten thousand to the poor, while rupees five thousand were distributed by the royal Princes who accompanied him. His Majesty who entertained much respect for the *fakirs*, paid a visit to the Saint Mian Mir. "He was" says Mulla Abdul Hamíd, "a holy man, indifferent to the world, and spoke but little. His Majesty, knowing that he cared not for worldly wealth, presented him with a rosary and a turban of white cloth and received his benedictions."

Wazir Khán,
Viceroy of
Lahore, 1628
A. D.

An account
of a royal vi-
sit to Lahore.

His Majes-
ty pays a vi-
sit to the
Saint Mian
Mir.

76411

And to Sheikh Beláwal, another holy man of Lahore.

"On the 19th," according to the same authority, "he visited Sheikh Biláwal, another *fakir* of great sanctity and piety, in Lahore, and presented him with Rs. 2,000, which, however, the Sheikh distributed among his *fakirs*, as he never kept any thing for himself but spent all he got on his alms-house."

Sháh Jahán's new palace.

As the buildings of the *Daulatkhána*, or Fort of Lahore, had been neglected for a long time, the Emperor availed himself of the opportunity of his arrival in the capital of the Panjáb to order the reconstruction of the *Ghuslkhána* and *Khwábgháh* (i. e., the bath-rooms and sleeping apartments) according to plans designed by skilful engineers. The supervision of these buildings was entrusted to Wazir Khán, who was ordered to finish the works by the time of His Majesty's return from Kashmír. The Sháh Burj, or the regal tower, built by *Jannat Makani* (Jahángir) having failed to impress Sháh Jahán, he ordered the building to be dismantled and built anew, the execution of the work being left to the taste of Yamin-ud-Daula Asif Khán who had already displayed much tact and judgment in the embellishment of the Imperial Court.*

The palace of Asif Khán.

On the 21st, His Majesty and the royal Princes and ladies were sumptuously entertained by Yamin-ud-daula Asif Khán, in his new palace at Lahore, which he had constructed at a cost of twenty lakhs of rupees.† Yamin-ud-daula, on this occasion, presented the Emperor with jewels, horses, rich stuffs and other curiosities, valued at six lakhs of rupees, exclusive of presents to the members of the royal family. After the 21st, three days were spent in Jahángirábád, known as Hiran Minara (the modern Shekhupura) in hunting the deer which abounded in that locality. His Majesty was greatly delighted with this excursion, as the sport was abundant. He did not think the building constructed here by *Jannat Makani*

He entertains the Emperor.

The royal hunt.

* *Amal-i-Saleh*.

† According to the *Amal-i-Saleh* of Mahomed Sáleh Lahori, the palace of Asif Khán was situated in the *maidan* of *nakhas* or horse-market close to the citadel. The author says:—

چون یمن الدولہ در مسقط قلعہ شہر بوکنار میدان نخاس کہ
مجمع اہل مود و مودای این مصر جامعست منازل عالی بنیاد رفیع
العباداماس نہادہ مبلغ بیست لکھ روپیہ در مدت دہ سال صرف
آن نمودہ باہتمام تمام مسقط اتمام دادہ بود

Meaning that "Yamin-ud-daula had built these lofty and superb edifices in the direction of the Fort on the boundary of the horse-market plains where traders and merchants assemble daily in this city, the cost of the construction of the buildings being twenty lakhs of rupees, and the period in which they reached completion ten years." Now, the place south of the Badsháhi Masjid and north of the Tahsil Court is locally known as the *Nakhas*, and this I identify as the spot where the palaces of Asif Khán were. The place should not be confounded with the *Nakhas* of later (or Dará Shekoh's) time on the site of the present Sultán's *seraie* outside the Delhi gate.

such as it should have been. It was, therefore, ordered that a new building, of exquisite design and beauty, should be constructed. The building was completed in a year, at a cost of Rs. 80,000. On the 24th, the royal troops moved to the Ravi. On the Emperor's return from Kashmír, Wazir Khán presented His Majesty with a travelling throne of gold, valued at Rs. 50,000, fifty horses of Irák, and other curiosities valued at two lakhs. His Majesty again paid his respects to the Saints Mian Mir and Sheikh Biláwal.

The Emperor's return from Kashmír.

In 1041 A.H. (1631 A.D.) the Court was again held at Lahore. Candahár, which had been in possession of the Persians since the seventeenth year of Jahángir's reign, was, about this time, surrendered to the Emperor of India by Ali Mardán Khán, its governor, who joined Sháh Jahán at his Court at Lahore. The Emperor received him most kindly and created him an *Amir* of the first rank. An interesting account of his first interview with the Emperor is given in the *Sháh Jahán Nâma (Amal-i-Saleh)* of Mahomed Saleh Lahori:—The Emperor, after the close of the war in the Deccan, visited Akbarabád (Agra) and thence proceeded to Lahore. On the bank of the tank of Raja Todar Mal, Wazir Khán, the Subedár of Lahore, Sháh Quli Khán, Faujdar of Kángará and Bakhtiar Khán, Faujdar of Lakhi Jungle, paid him their respects, each offering *Nazar* in proportion to his rank and dignity. On the 15th of Rajab, His Majesty, having started from the garden of Hoshiar Khán, entered the *Daulatkhána** (fort) of Lahore at a propitious hour, throwing gold and silver throughout the way.† Under orders of His Majesty, Mot'amid Khán, Mír Bakhshi, or Master of Ordnance, and Tarbiat Khán, the Second Bakhshi, having received Ali Mardán Khán up to the gate of *Khas-o'-Am*, introduced him to the Emperor's audience. The Khán, having paid his obeisance, offered His Majesty a *nazar* of one thousand gold mohars, and was honored with a *khillat*, consisting of silk and embroidered clothes, a jewelled turban with aigrette, a jewelled dagger, shield and sword. He was created an *Amir* with the rank of 6000 personnel, and received two horses with embroidered saddles and four elephants with silver housings, one of the elephants, named *Koh Shikan*, being remarkable for its large size. The *haveli* of Itmad-ud-daula was made over to him for a residence. Moreover, from the date of his leaving Candahár to the day of his arrival at Lahore, all the expenses of the way, which amounted to ten lakhs of rupees, were paid by the State Treasury. Twenty thousand rupees were also bestowed on

Ali Mardán Khán joins the Emperor at Lahore, 1631 A.D.

* The citadel is invariably called "Daulat Khán," or house of wealth."

† On grand occasions, it was the custom of the Princes of India to throw silver and gold on the way for the needy and poor.

his servants. As he had come fresh from a fertile and cool country, the Emperor was pleased to appoint him to the governorship of Kashmir. Ali Beg, his son-in-law, and Abdullah Beg and Ismail Beg, his sons, were honored with high ranks in the State.

Lahore in the height of its prosperity.

Lahore was at this time in the height of its splendour. The people were prosperous beyond all precedent. Following the example set by the Emperor, many of the Omerahs decorated the city with beautiful edifices, and Mahomed Sâleh, *Lahori*, in his excellent work, the *Amal-i-Saleh*, mentions in this connection, among others, the names of Wazir Khân and *Allami* Afzal Khân who each constructed spacious private edifices at Lahore about this time. Besides the countless military retainers of the Emperor, the picturesque cavalcades of the Princes Royal and the attendants of the numerous nobles and grandees of State, the sight of the Governors and Viceroy of Provinces from the Narbada and Tapti to the confines of Candahâr and Ghazni, and their vast hosts of followers, who came here to pay their homage to the *Shahinshâh*, or king of kings, afforded a most imposing and gorgeous spectacle. Here came also the envoys of foreign nations, the bearers of friendly letters to the Emperor, or of the curiosities of their respective countries for presentation to him. Lahore was at this time visited by the Envoys of the Amir of

Visits of Ambassadors of foreign nations.

The munificence of the Emperor.

Balkh, the *Wali* of Turan, the Safavi King of Persia,* and Ali Pasha the sovereign of Bussorah. The Emperor was profuse in his gifts and presents. From the highest to the lowest, all alike shared his munificence and generosity. On each visit to the mausoleum of his father, he distributed not less than ten thousand rupees to the religious people and other pious men attached to the institution. Other occasions, such as the anniversary of the Prophet, the night of *Miraj* (when Mahomed is believed to have gone to the highest heaven), the King's anniversary, the festival of *Nauroz*, or new year's day, were not few when the poor were partakers of His Majesty's generosity, and thousands of rupees were distributed to them as alms. On each *Miraj* night, ten thousand rupees were distributed to the *Hafizes* and other pious and religious men of the city. The king was exceedingly kind to his ministers and nobles and honored them with visits. During his stay at Lahore on this occasion, he was entertained successively by Ali Mardân Khân, *Allami*

His courtesy to his ministers and nobles,

* Mahomed Saleh says, in the *Shah Jahân Nâma* :—"Mirza Yadgar Beg, the Envoy of the Shâh of Persia, who had been staying at Lahore for some time past, was at this time presented with a dress of honor consisting of valuable clothes and a jewelled dagger, with cash rupees twenty thousand. From the day of his arrival to the date of his departure, he had been recipient of gifts valued at fifty thousand rupees, besides two lakhs of rupees cash. At this time His Majesty sent for the Safvi King a *Surahi* (long necked flask) and a dish set with gems, valued at fifty thousand rupees, by the hand of the said Envoy."—*Shâh Jahân Nâma*.

Afzal Khán, *Allami* Wazir Khán and *Famin-ud-daula* Asif Jah, each of whom presented him with presents valued at several lakhs of rupees. The *Id* festival coming on the first of Shawal, His Majesty proceeded in State to the *Idgah*, and, at going and returning, threw gold and silver (*ذرو سیم*) from his elephant, to be scrambled for by the poor and needy. After a stay of a few months at Lahore, His Majesty proceeded to Cábul, *viâ* Peshawar and Ali Masjid.

The *Id* festival.

On his return to Lahore, the same year (1631 A.D.), Ali Mardán Khán, now created Viceroy of Lahore and Kashmír, with a rank of 7,000 personnel and 7,000 horse, with His Majesty's permission, had the palace gorgeously illuminated on the night of *Lelat-ul-Barát* (or *Shah-i-barát*). "The Khán's officials," writes Mulla Abdul Hamíd, "acting under his instructions, illuminated the outer walls of the Halls of general and special audience, which are very extensive, from the foot to the top, by placing lamps on planks of wood arranged in various decorative forms. His Majesty, having taken his seat in the *jharoka*, had a full view of these illuminations. Ali Mardán Khán had curious fireworks made after the fashion of Persia. A display of these fireworks in all their varieties and colours greatly pleased His Majesty. As usual on these occasions, rupees ten thousand were distributed as alms to the poor." On Mullah Abdul Hakím *Sialkotí* and Mulla Fázil 400 *Ashrafis* each were bestowed.*

Ali Mardán Khán made Viceroy of Lahore and Kashmír.

Illuminations at the palace.

It having been represented by Ali Mardán Khán that one of his followers was an adept in the art of constructing canals, His Majesty ordered a canal to be excavated, from the place where the Ravi descends from the hills into the plains, irrigating the country through which it should pass. Rupees one lakh were given to Ali Mardán Khán for constructing the canal, and preparations were made for cutting a canal from the village Rajpur, in Nurpur, to the environs of Lahore, a distance of 48 *jarib koss*.

The canal of Ali Mardán Khán.

The Emperor paid a second visit to Kashmír. On his return to the capital of the Panjáb, Wazir Khán was appointed *Subedár* of Agra and joined his new appointment under the orders of His Majesty. Arsalá Aqua, envoy of the Sultán of Turkey, was presented with a *khillat* of honor valued at fifteen thousand rupees. The court continued to be held at Lahore. In 1043 A. H. (1633 A. D.) Mulla Sa'adullah of Chiniot, having been introduced to the King through Músawí Khán, was created a Mansabdár of 1000 and D.

Mulla Sa'adullah of Chiniot introduced to the Emperor at Lahore, 1633 A. D.

* *Shah Jahan Náma* of Mahomed Saleh.

The Shalimar gardens laid out, 1634 A. D.

The death of Wazir Khán, 1634 A. D.

Death of Asif Khán, 1634.

The Emperor's letter of condolence to the deceased Minister's son.

appointed superintendent of the royal household.* The following year, the canal of Ali Mardán Khán having been completed at a total cost of two lakhs of rupees, His Majesty ordered that a spacious garden, with chambers, baths, reservoirs and fountains, be laid out on its banks. Accordingly, the foundations of these gardens were laid out on the 3rd of Rabi-ul-Awal, and Khalilullah Khán was entrusted with the execution of the work with the help of other servants of State. On the 4th of Jamadi-ul-Awal, the work of planting trees and flowers was commenced, and the *Badsháhnáma* gives a long detail of the trees planted, which included fruit trees from Cábul and Candahár. The same year, news having arrived from Agra of the death there of Wazir Khán, from cholic, His Majesty expressed his grief, and condoled with the sons of the deceased on the death of their father. On the 17th of Shabán, the Emperor lost another faithful servant, Yamin-ud-daula Asif Khan, *Khán-i-Khanan*, commander-in-chief of India, His Majesty's father-in-law, and the brother of Núr Jahán. By order of the king, his remains were interred in the land close to the *chouk* of Jilow Khana, to the west of the mausoleum of *Jannat Makani* (Jahángir), and a grand dome was ordered to be raised to his memory. *Khillats* of condolence were sent to the members of his family, and *Toras*, consisting of nine pieces of cloth each, were sent to the female members of the deceased minister's *Harem*. A dress of honor was sent to Sháesta Khán, son of the deceased, who was governor of Behar, together with an autograph letter from the Emperor. In it the Emperor wrote:—

مبارزالملت یمین الدوله آصف خاں خانخانان سپہ سالار
او اخر روز پنجشنبہ ہفتدہم شہر شعبان المعظم داعی یا ایہتہا
النفس المطمئینہ ارجمعی الی ربک راضیہ مرضیہ۔ رابلبیک اجابت
تلقی نمودہ بہ نرہتگاہ جاودانی و آرام جائی دائمی شتافت۔ دل
حق شناس و خاطر حقیقت اسام کہ بان دانائی رموز سلطنت
توجہ والس تمام داشت از وقوع این قضیہ قرین تامل و تائرو تہلف
و تحسر گردید۔ لیکن از انجا کہ مالکان مسالک تحقیق را درین
قسم قضا یا غیر از طریق مستقیم رضا و تسلیم مسلکی نیست۔

* According to the *Sháh Jahán Náma*, Sheikh Sa'adullah was introduced to the Emperor through the Sadr-us-sadr (Chief Judge or Chancellor) Músawi Khán in the month of Ramzan, 1050 A. H. (1640 A. D.). The Emperor was much pleased with the young man's address, and, in the course of the year, created him a *Khán*, with a rank of 1000 personnel and 500 horse, and appointed him Superintendent of *Ghuslkhana*. The following year his *Mansub* was increased to 3000 personnel and 2000 horse. He was appointed Lord of the Privy Chamber, and became the Emperor's trusted councillor. In the fourth year he was installed in the office of Minister, and in the seventh year created a *Mansabdár* of 7000 personnel and 7000 horse with the title of *Allámí Fahámi* (the most learned and the most wise.)

خاطر حق پسند را بقضاراضی ساخت بصبر و خورمندی گرانیدیم—
 آن خانزاد شایسته نیز بقتضائی عبودیت از منہج قویم صبر و
 شکیبائی تجاوز نموده خود را بسلامت ذات اشرف اقدس ماخرمند
 گرداند و عنایت بیغایت بادشاهان را دربارہ خود روز افزون شناسد

"The champion of faith, the right hand of State, Asif Khán Khán-i-Khánán, Commander-in-chief, having, in obedience to the command of God, which says, 'O thou who art happy with His recollection, return to thy God, and be happy in His kingdom, as He is happy with thee,' responded to His call by saying: 'Here I am ready, O Lord, to obey thy command,' travelled to the world of eternity towards the evening of Wednesday, the seventeenth of the sacred month of Shabán, our truth-seeking and right-thinking mind, which was much attached to that adept in the art of government, has been grieved at this loss. But whereas, in such cases of destiny, there is no help for the seekers after truth, but to submit to the immutable Power, we are content with what has come to pass. To you, the servant of the royal house, our advise is that, without transgressing the rules of contentment, you shall make yourself happy with a prayer for the prolongation of our august and noble life, bearing in mind that our royal favors to you are always on the increase."

A famine having broken out in Kashmír, in 1634 A. D., owing to the excessive rains during the spring harvest and the destruction of crops by the floods, thousands of indigent people from that country repaired to Lahore. A body of these destitute men, exceeding thirty thousand in number, having one morning made their appearance at the *darshan* of the *jharoka*, the Emperor was pleased to grant a lakh of rupees for their relief, and it was ordered that, as long as they staid at the capital, food should be distributed to them daily. Fifty thousand rupees were also sent to Kashmír for the relief of the famine-stricken people. On the 15th of Zilhij, His Majesty honoured Ali Mardán Khán with a visit to his house, and the Khán presented the Emperor with jewels and valuables to the amount of Rs. 180,000. On Rai Mukand Dás, Dewan of the late Yamin-ud-daula, was conferred the rank of 500 personnel and 100 horse, and he was appointed *Daftardar* of Khalsa (or in charge of the State Office), while Bahári Mal, the late *Daftardar*, was appointed Dewan of the Suba of the Panjáb.

Relief of
famine-strick-
en people
from Kash-
mír.

Transac-
tions of the
Darbár.

The Court remained at Lahore in 1635, when the nuptials of the Emperor's fourth son, Prince Morád Bakhsh, with the daughter of Sháh Nawáz Khán, *Safvi*, took place there. The occasion was marked with great rejoicings, and the festivities lasted many days. After these proceedings, the Prince was sent to Mul-tán as Governor. The Imperial Gardens called the *Farah Bakhsh* and *Fyz Bakhsh*, having been completed, His Majesty graced them with his presence.* Towards the close of the year, the Court moved to Agra.

The mar-
riage of
Prince Morád
Bakhsh.

In 1638 A. D., the Emperor again visited Lahore, on his way to Kashmír. He put up in the gardens of Fyz Bakhsh and Farah Bakhsh, and had no time to enter the city. Kalij Khán was now Viceroy of the Panjáb, and Khanjar Khán, his nephew, Faujdar of Kángra. The same year *Allami Sa'adullah* was installed in the office of Prime Minister, and his rank was increased to 5,000 personnel and 2,000 horse. His Majesty returned to Lahore on the 15th of Ramzán. In all his journeys he was accompanied by his faithful daughter, Jahán Ara, the Badsháh Begam ("Princess Royal") who had all the privileges and allowances of her deceased mother. She was unmarried, and is described by the historians of Sháh Jahán as 'very handsome and accomplished.' She was not less famous for her wit, generosity, and beauty, than for her devotion to her royal father. She was in receipt of an allowance of sixty lakhs of rupees per annum. As in the days of her mother, Salyan-nissa Khánam was the manager of her household and the custodian of her seal. The Emperor was strongly attached to her, and she was his constant companion and remained with him until his last moments. On the 29th of Shawál, of the same year, Núr Jahán, the widow of Jahangir, who was in receipt of two lakhs of rupees per annum, died at Lahore, and was buried in a mausoleum which she had herself built close to the tomb of her brother Asif Khán. The Court was held at Lahore for the next two years, though the campaigns in Balkh and Badakhshán compelled the Emperor to pay visits to Cábul from the capital of the Panjáb. According to the *Badsháhnáma*, the revenue of the Suba of Lahore at this time was 90 *karors*; that of the Suba of Multán 28 *karors*; and that of the Suba of Kashmír 15 *karors*.

Death of
Ali Mardán
Khán, 1675.

In the year 1675, the Premier noble, Ali Mardán Khán, died of diarrhœa, on his way to Kashmír. He had proceeded by boat as far as Machiwara when his complaint assumed a fatal form. His body was conveyed by boat to Lahore by his son, Ibrahim Khán, and interred there in the mausoleum of his mother. He held a rank of 2,000 personnel and 500 horse, besides an *inam* of thirty lakhs of rupees. The Emperor was much grieved at his death. The deceased left four sons, Abdullah Beg, Ibrahim Khán, Ismail and Ishak, who were each amply provided for by the Emperor. Their rank in the army was also raised. The deceased had an extensive staff of officials in his employ, for whom suitable provision was made by the Emperor. Mahomed Mokim, his Dewan, Khwaja Ismáíl, his house-steward, Lashkar Khan, and a host of others, were taken into the Imperial service. The deceased left estates valued at one *karor* of rupees. Of these fifty lakhs were escheated to

the State, in lieu of the government demand, and of the rest, thirty lakhs were given to Ibrahim Khán, the most beloved of the sons of the deceased, while the remaining twenty lakhs were distributed among the other three sons.*

The following men of note flourished at Lahore during the reign of Sháh Jahán —

1. *Sheikh Mahomed Mir*, commonly known as Mian Mir, a man of great fame, universally esteemed for his piety and learning. He entertained an entire contempt for the world, devoted his whole time to prayers and meditation, and possessed great spiritual power. Sháh Jahán paid him several visits, and he was the spiritual guide of Dará Shekoh, the Emperor's eldest son. According to the *Sháh Jahán Nāma*, he was buried in "the village of Ghiaspur close to Alam Ganj, Lahore."

2. *Sheikh Biláwal Quadri*, a man of great religious sanctity and piety. He was attached to the Dervishes, and fed the poor and the needy. His speech was eloquent, and he preached morality and the science of religion to the people. He established an alms-house at Lahore, in which hundreds of destitute persons were fed. He died in Shabán 1046 A.H. (1636 A.D.), and was buried at Lahore.

3. *Mulla Sháh*, a native of Badakhshán, and a scholar of great merit. He came to Lahore in 1023 Hijra (1614) A.D., and became a disciple of Mian Mir. He lived in seclusion and meditation, and according to the *Sháh Jahán Nāma*, following the example of his religious preceptor, never married. He used to go to Kashmír for the hot weather, passing the cold weather at Lahore, but subsequently he abandoned the practice of journeying to Kashmír, and, at the request of his preceptor, passed his whole time in Lahore. He often composed poetry, insisting on the instability of this world, and exhorting people to walk in the path of righteousness, and acquire the knowledge of the Supreme Being. He died at Lahore in 1072 A.H. (1661 A.D.), and was buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of his religious preceptor. The following is a specimen of his poetical composition :—

ای بد بیایی قفل بر دل هشدار وی دوخته چشم پائی در گل هشدار
عزم سفر مغرب و روبا مشرق ای راه رویشست بمنزل هشدار

* "O thou with chains on thy feet and a lock on thy heart, be careful !
O thou with thine eyes closed and feet entangled in clay, be careful !
Contemplating a journey to the West, yet with thy face to the East,
-O, traveller, with thy back to thy destination, be careful !"

* *Sháh Jahán Nāma* of Mahomed Sálich.

Khwāja Bahārī.

4. *Khwāja Bahārī*, a native of Bahār (Bengal). Having come to the Panjāb in early life, he became a disciple of Mian Mir. He died in 1041 A. H. (1631 A. D.), and was buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of his religious teacher. He is credited by the author of the *Badshāhnāma* with having performed many miracles.

Mullah Abdul Hakīm, Sialkoti.

5. *Mulla Abdul Hakīm, Sialkoti*, a great scholar, author and commentator. His fame for learning spread throughout the empire of Hindustān, and for sixty years he gave instruction to the people in Philosophy and Theology. His chief works are Commentaries on Byzavi, Mukaddimat Arba'talayaj, Mutawal, Shrah Moafique, Shamsa, 'Akayad Mulla Jalāl and Hikmat-ul-Ain. His long and useful career was brought to a close in 1067 A. H. (1656 A.D.) He left a son Maulāna Abdullāh.

Allamī Sa'adulla Khān.

6. *Allamī Sa'adulla Khān*, by caste a Thāīm, and resident of Mauzah Pitraiki, in Chiniot. His father was a cultivator, and the family lived in great privation. Sa'adulla, at an early age, came to Lahore, and lived in mosques where he prosecuted his studies as a *Darvesh*. He then went to Delhi, where he completed his studies and became an accomplished scholar. His tutor held office in the *Tasbīh Khana*, or chapel royal, and through his influence he became a stipend-holder there. He attracted the attention of the Emperor, and was by degrees raised to the dignity of Wazir. He died in 1067 A. H. (1656 A. D.)

Mulla Ala-ul-Mulk.

7. *Mulla Ala-ul-Mulk*, surnamed Fāzil Khan. He was a skilful engineer, and an adept in the art of canal engineering. The Shalimar Gardens of Lahore were designed by him and executed under his superintendence. On the death of Yamin-ud-daula he became Wazir of the empire, but had held his high office for only two weeks where he died in 1073 A. H. (1662 A.D.)

Maulāna Mahomed Fāzil, Badakhshāni.

8. *Maulāna Mahomed Fāzil, Badakhshāni*. He was a native of Badakhshān, and, on coming to India, became a disciple of Mulla Jamāl, *Lahori*, in Theology and Jurisprudence. He held the office of *Adalati* at Lahore in the time of Jahangir, and held the same office in the time of Shāh Jahān until the eighth year of the reign, when he retired from the public service. His death occurred at Lahore.

Mulla Jāmi, Lahori.

9. *Mulla Jāmi, Lahori*. He was a man of great learning, and devoted his time to giving instruction to the people. He was

also a poet of great talent. The following stanza is a specimen of his poetical performance :—

هر کس که دل از مدار دنیا برداشت عبرت ز شمار کار دنیا برداشت
گویند زمین بر سر گاومست بلے گاومست کسی که بار دنیا برداشت

“ He who turned away his mind from the affairs of the world

Has learnt a good lesson of it ;

They say the earth rests on the horn of a bull,

Without doubt, he who takes upon himself the burden of worldly affairs is like unto a bull.”*

Mulla Jāmi died at Lahore. His tomb is situated in the precincts of the mausoleum of Mahomed Tahir, *Bandgi*, and a mosque is attached to it.

10. *Chandar Bhān*. He was a native of Lahore, and was a *Chandar* man of great literary attainments. He composed poetry under the *Bhān*. poetical name *Brahman*. The following couplet is given as a specimen of his composition :—

چشم تا بر هم زدی انجام شد آغاز عمر
طے شد این ره آنچنان کاوازاے برخواست

“ With the closing of the eye the life is closed,

The journey of life is accomplished, but even the sound of the feet is not heard ! ”

11. *Mir Abdul Karīm*. He was the *Mir Imarat*, or superintendent of public works of Lahore in the time of Shāh Jahān. *Mir Abdul Karīm*.

12. *Hakim Alim-ud-din*, alias *Wazir Khan*, the founder of the mosque in the city of Lahore bearing his name. He was a native of Chiniot.† According to the *Badshāhnāma*, after acquiring a knowledge of Arabic and Philosophy, he became a scholar of *Hakīm Dāwi*, from whom he learnt the art of medicine. His accomplishments, as a physician, attracted the attention of Shāh Jahān, and in a short time, he made himself familiar with the temper and disposition of the Emperor, the royal princes and the ladies of the *Harem*. He was first appointed Superintendent of the Household دیوان بیوتات again *Mir Sāmān*, or Superintendent of Royal Kitchen, from which *Hakīm Alim-ud-din*.

* According to Hindu Mythology, the earth rests on the horn of a bull. The author here says that the man who takes upon himself the troubles of this world is nothing more or less than a bull, i. e., he is a foolish person.

† The remains of his palaces still exist at Chiniot, to the south-east of the town. The chambers and vaulted rooms enclosed by walls of solid masonry are works of great solidity and strength. The place is called ‘*Rekht*’ by the people, and the quarter is inhabited by washermen who pay rent to Qazī Ghulām Hyder of Chiniot. The descendants of Wazir Khān still live at Lahore, but they are in poor circumstances, except Anwar Ali, Hospital Assistant, now stationed at Gujranwala.

post he was soon promoted to the office of Dewan. He was then created an Amir, with a rank of 5,000 personnel and 5,000 cavalry, and was ultimately appointed *Subedar* of the Panjáb.*

Sheikh Tá-
hir, *Bandigi*.

13. *Sheikh Táhir, Bandigi*. He was a native of Lahore,† was a profound scholar and had numerous disciples. According to the *Tazkara Mojadda-dia*, he was a disciple of Sheikh Ahmed, *Sirhandi Mojaddadi*. He subsisted on the income derived from copying books on *Hadis* and Commentaries on the Koran, and his whole time was devoted to giving religious instruction to the people. He died on 5th Moharram 1040 A. H. (1630 A. D.), and was buried at Lahore.‡

The *Tazkara Mojadda-dia* contains several letters in Persian, written by Mahomed Táhir to his spiritual guide in Sirhind. They are models of excellent Persian style. We give an extract from one of these here, as it will convey an idea of the religious notions prevailing at the time among orthodox Mahomedans :—

حضرت من سلامت
احقر الخدمت محمداطاهر بعرض میرساند که چون از آستانه علیا
متوجه لاهور شدم در هر قدمی با خود میگفتم که ای نادان مقصود را
گذاشته کجا میروی—اما از غیب ندای آمد که راهی شو راهی شو—
فی الجمله کشان کشان باین شهر آوردند و در گوشه مسجد حیران نشستم
ناگاه بروح پرمتوج حضرت خواجه نقشبند ظاهر شد و باعث گشت که برای
کاریکه ما مورد شده مشغول شو—امتنالا الامر هم و امر کم چند کس را مشغول
ساختم حالا مجلس گرم است و مشایخان عالیشان فوج در فوج تشریف
می آورند و الطاف کثیره می فرمایند خصوصا روح حضرت خواجه
بزرگ یعنی حضرت خواجه نقشبند و حضرت غوث الاعظم و
حضرت خواجه فرید گنج شکر در حلقه ذکر و نماز تشریف فرما
میشود

“ My lord, may you ever live !—The humblest of slaves, Mahomed Táhir, submits as follows :—When, after leaving your most exalted threshold, I made

* At Chiniot, I had the pleasure of examining some very interesting old documents in possession of the Qazis and the hereditary guardians of the mausoleum of Sháh Burhán in that place. The following was the impression of the seal of Wazir Khán on a document in possession of Qazi Qutb-ud-din, *Rais* of Chiniot :—

زلف شاه جهان بادشاه بنده نواز وزیر خان بجہان جاودان بود ممتاز

“ Through the favor of Sháh Jahán, the king cherisher of servants,
May Wazir Khán be ever honored in the world !”

† He lived in the walled city of Lahore in *Mohalla* Sheikh Ishaq (or modern Moti Bazar and Chuna Mandi) where the *haveli* of Jamadar Khoshal Singh now is.

‡ His tomb is situated in Miani in a high walled enclosure, and is much respected by the Mahomedans.

my way to Lahore, at every step I said to myself,—‘O unwise man! leaving the object of thy heart, where art thou going?’ But a voice came from heaven—go on your way; go on your way—until at last I was dragged to this city. And I sat down, quite perplexed, in a corner of the Masjid. Suddenly the benign soul of His Holiness Khwāja Nakshband made its appearance, and insisted that I should begin the work to do which I had been ordered. In obedience to these orders, certain men were employed (in the work of saying adorations of God.) Now the meeting is full. Holy men, of high dignity, are pouring in in troops and doing unbounded favors. In particular, we have been honored with the presence of the souls of His Holiness, the Great Khwāja, namely, Khwāja Nakshband, and His Holiness, Ghaus-ul-'Azam, and His Holiness Khwāja Farid *Ganj Shakar*, who are all present in the circle of adoration and prayers.”

14. *Mulla Abdul Salām, Devī.* According to the *Badshāhnāma*, he learnt Arabic in Dev, his home. On coming to *Dar-ul-Saltanat* (Lahore) he became a pupil of Mulla Abdus Salām, *Lahori*, (No. 19 of Akbar's time) in Jurisprudence and Theology. He first taught his pupils, and then became a public servant. At the time when Mulla Abdul Hamīd wrote his *Badshāhnāma*, he retired from public affairs and became a government pensioner, “to offer prayers,” according to the author, “for the increasing prosperity of the asylum of the world.”

Mulla Abdul Salām, Devī.

15. *Mulla Yusuf, Lahori.* According to the *Badshāhnāma* he was an ‘*Alim-i-'Amīl*, or “a learned man who acted on what he read.” He was a disciple of Mulla Jamāl, *Lahori*, and was well versed in history, commentary on the Koran *Hadis*, and other law books. He gave instruction to the people for fifty years, and died at the age of eighty.

Mulla Yusuf, Lahori.

16. *Sheikh Abul Ma'ali.* According to the *Badshāhnāma*, he was a native of Bhera, then in the pargana of Lahore. He had much respect for the saint Mian Mir, and acquired a knowledge of Theology from him. He was alive when Mulla Abdul Hamīd wrote his work. The author says regarding the religious sanctity of the Sheikh,—

Sheikh Abul Ma'ali.

وازاھل و عیال گیتھ اکھون بشعلی کہ ازان رهنوردی بیدای
یقین فرا گرفته مشغول است و پائی آمد و شد او کوتاہ و چشم گریان
و دل بریان دارد میبای حالش برموز و گذار دلالت میکند

“And having severed his connection from relations and dependents, he is occupying his time in preparing for a path, the path of virtue and wisdom. He is confined to his own place: has eyes full of tears, and a heart parched (with the fire of the love of God); from the appearance of his forehead may be judged the warmth of his mind (in the cause of God.)”

Aurangzeb.—Owing to the prosecution of protracted wars in the Deccan, Aurangzeb had less time to hold his Court at Lahore.

Aurangzeb.

The palaces
and *chauk* of
Dará Shekoh.

than his predecessors; but in the public correspondence Lahore was, as usual, styled the *Der-ul-Saltanat*. Dará Shekoh, the eldest son of Sháh Jahán, was fond of Lahore, where he was extremely popular, and fixed his residence there. He took great interest in the welfare of the city, which he adorned with beautiful buildings and spacious *chauks*, or market-places. Where the Sultan's *serae* now is, existed the *chauk*, or square, of Dará Shekoh, with one large gateway on each side. One of these gates on the north, decorated with *Kansi* work, and in shape and style resembling the front gate of Wazir Khán's mosque, existed up to the commencement of the British period, but was dismantled about 1854. The place now called Shahidganj was the horse-market. The mosque to the south of the *serae* was built by Abdullah Khán, *kotwal*, or police magistrate, of Lahore, in the time of Aurangzeb, who held his court at the *Nahashkhana*, or horse-market.

Dará Shekoh, an accomplished Prince.

Dará Shekoh was a high-spirited, generous, and amiable prince. He had an air of regal dignity, and was frank and brave. He was a free-thinker and employed his leisure in the cultivation of letters. Theology was his favorite theme, and he was the author of many books treating of that subject, and narrating the lives of holy men. Among the works of Dará Shekoh are the *Safinat-ul-Aulia*, a work on the lives and doings of Mahomedan saints, the *Sakinat-ul-Aulia*, on the life of Mian Mir and his successors, Dewani Iksiri Azim, Risalah-i-Maarif, the Shathiati Dará and the *Sirr-i-Akbar* or "The Great Mystery." He was the disciple of Mulla Sháh, the disciple of Mian Mir. He was particularly friendly to Har Rae, the seventh Sikh Gúru, and when harassed by his brother, Aurangzeb, the Gúru declared himself to be an adherent of the Prince.

He takes possession of the Citadel.

After his defeat near Agra by Aurangzeb, Dará Shekoh marched rapidly to Lahore, took possession of the citadel, and seizing on the royal treasury, began to raise an army. He rewarded the omrahhs munificently, and in a short time succeeded in collecting around him twenty thousand horsemen. Khanjar Khán, the Faujdar of Bhera Khushab, and Rája Ráj Rup, the Chief of Jammu, took his side. He sent a detachment of five thousand cavalry to guard the passage of the Sutlej, and another strong detachment, under Daúd Khán, to guard that of the Beas.* No sooner, however, had Aurangzeb settled his affairs at Delhi, than he marched to the Panjáb in pursuit of his brother. Dará was deserted by his Panjáb allies. Rája Ráj Rup left for the hills on some pretext, and no succour came from Cábul, as Dará had expected. Dará, feeling unable to resist the troops that

But is pursued by Aurangzeb.

threatened him, left Lahore, with a force of 13,000 or 14,000 horse, and took the way to Multán. He carried away with him from Lahore treasures in silver and gold coin and bullion, worth more than a *karor* of rupees, besides guns and munitions of war.* Aurangzeb, who had by this time already crossed the Sutlej, sent his eldest son, Prince Mahomed 'Azim, to take over charge of Lahore, and himself proceeded to Multán. Dára was betrayed at Multán by his own men. Saiyad Arab Khán and Sheikh Musa Gilani, who had been put in charge of Multán by Dára Shekoh, held aloof from him. Dára made his way to Bhakkar, and was followed by Aurangzeb's General, Saff Shekan Khán. Aurangzeb arrived at Multán, and paid his benedictions to the mausoleum of Saint Sheikh Baha-ud-dín, where he offered Rs. 1,000 as a present. He then, with his whole army, marched to Lahore, which he reached on the 24th of Moharram 1069 A. H. (1659 A. D.) He put up in the garden of Fyz Bakhsh, on the road to Delhi. The following day, he was visited in state by Prince Mahomed 'Azim, from the city, who was accompanied by Mahomed Amín Khán, Mír Bakshi, and other omerahs, and in company with the prince made a minute inspection of the fort قلعه را بنظر احتیاط ملاحظہ کرد. Aminullah, the Qiladar of the fort, having paid his respects, the Emperor gave him verbal instructions regarding the arrangements to be made in the citadel. On his way back to the gardens of Farah Bakhsh, Aurangzeb read the prayers in the mosque of Wazir Khán with the congregation, and, towards evening, reached the gardens of Fyz Bakhsh. Khalil-ullah Khán was appointed Viceroy of the Panjáb, and, as a reward for the services rendered by him, the Emperor was pleased to confer on him a *Mahál*, or estate, assessed at one *karor* of rupees. Lashkar Khán, formerly governor of Kashmir, was appointed Governor of the *Suba* of Multán. Khwaja Ismail, Kirmani, having been appointed Dewán of Lahore, was honored with a *khillat*. Darvesh Mahomed was raised to the *Mansab* of 500 horse, and Sultan Begt to that of 1,400 horse. On the day of the new moon the Emperor marched to Delhi.

And retreats to Multán.

Is betrayed by his own men.

And flies to Bhakkar.

Aurangzeb enters Lahore, 1659, A. D.

Khalilullah Khán, appointed Viceroy of the Panjáb.

Dára proceeded to Ajmere in a bewildered condition. Here his faithful wife, Nadera Begam, the daughter of Prince Parwez, to whom he was much attached, and who had been his faithful companion in all his toils, died of dysentery and vexation. The Prince sent her corpse to Lahore, in charge of a faithful servant, Gul

The troubles of Dára.

The death of his consort.

* *Alamgirnáma*, p. 188, Calcutta Edition.

† *Alamgirnáma*, p. 214.

‡ He was the founder of the Golábi Bágh on the road to the gardens of Fyz Bakhsh or Shalimár.

Mahomed, to be interred, according to the will of the deceased, in the precincts of the mausoleum of Mian Mir.*

Mahomed
Amin Khán
appointed
Viceroy of the
Panjáb.

In 1072 A. H. (1655 A. D.) Khalil-ullah Khán, Viceroy of Lahore, having died, his sons received dresses of condolence from the Emperor, and an allowance of fifty thousand rupees was settled on Hamida Bano Begam, widow of the deceased, daughter of Malika Bano, the sister of Mumtáz Zamání Begam, called the Táj Mahal, wife of Sháh Jahán. Mahomed Amin Khán was appointed Viceroy of the Panjáb in the place of the deceased.

Account of
a royal visit
to the city.

In the following year, the Emperor visited Lahore, and put up in the gardens of Fyz Bakhsh from the 2nd Rajab to the 9th of that month, waiting for an auspicious moment to visit the city and the fort. At length, the royal astrologers having declared the 10th of that month to be the propitious day, His Majesty, sitting on the same elephant with Prince Mahomed Mo'azzam, entered the city, two watches after sunrise. He then entered the palace. On the following day, it being Friday, the Emperor read the prayers in the mosque of Firoz Khan† in the outskirts of the citadel, close to the Hathiapul gate, in the usual way; and it was ruled that on all Fridays the congregation should continue to assemble there in this way to perform their prayers. During this month also the sum of Rs. 20,000 was distributed to those who were entitled to it, through 'Abid Khán, Sadr-us-Sadr.‡ On the 25th of Ram-zán, the Emperor held a grand entertainment in the garden of Dil-kusha, across the Ravi.§ The Court of the Emperor was held in great respect by the sovereigns of Asia and Africa, and presents were exchanged. Thus, we find that in the sixth year of the reign, Budak Beg, Envoy of Shah Abbás of Persia, who had visited the

A grand
banquet.

* The *Muntakhil-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khán and the *Alamgirnama* of Mohamed Kázim.

† The site of this mosque is not known. In both the histories of Sháh Jahán and Alamgir, Hathiapul is mentioned as one of the gates of the fort. I identify it with the *Hathipul* gate of Mr. Thornton. *Vide* his "Lahore as it is and as it was." It is the gate on which the Persian inscription is inscribed on a stone. No mosque is situated close to it now.

‡ *Alamgirnama*, page 167. The passage in the original runs thus :—

فرداي ان كه جمعه بود در مسجد فيروز خان كه در فضائي بيرون
قلعه نزديك بدروازه هتيمپل واقعست بائين معبود نماز گذارده
مقرر فرمودند كه ساير جمعات بدين دستور آنجا اقامت جماعت مي
نموده باشند و در ايام اين ماه مبارك اثر بيست هزار روپيه
صدرالصدور عابدخان بارياب استحقاق اتفاق شد

Emperor at Lahore, was dismissed with presents valued at seven lakhs of rupees for His Persian Majesty, Tarbiat Khán being sent with the Persian Envoy as the representative of the Emperor of Hindustán. To Abdul Aziz Khán, King of Bokhára, presents valued at one lakh and a half, and to Subhan Quli Khán of Balkh, presents of one lakh were sent. Mustafa Khán *Khawafi*, Envoy from Turán, Sedi Kamil, Envoy of Abyssinia, Imam Ismail, the Envoy of the King of Yaman, and the Envoy of Abdullah Khán, King of Kashghar, waited on the King, with friendly letters from their respective sovereigns, and were dismissed with handsome presents. Syad Yahya, the Envoy of the Sharif of Mecca, to whom six lakhs and thirty thousand rupees had been forwarded, came with a present of Arab horses from his master and was dismissed with a *khillat* of six thousand rupees.

The King's relations with the Sovereigns of Asia and Africa.

In the year 1662 A. D., the city having been much damaged by the encroachments of the river Ravi, the Emperor had a massive embankment of brick-work constructed for about four miles along its bank, for the protection of the city. The quay is said to have been faced with lead; flights of steps were made at intervals for the people to bathe, and rows of Persian wheels were worked with bullocks along the bank, to irrigate the gardens of the Omerahs which lined the edge. As stated by a contemporary historian, the quay served as the *Sad-i-Sikandri* (or the rampart said to have been built by Alexander to prevent the incursions of Gog and Magog), and not only was the city saved from ruin, but the course of the river was changed altogether, and the main stream now flows at a distance of one mile to the north.

The *Band-i-Alamgiri* or the Embankment of Alamgir.

The Court was held at Lahore during the years 1668-69, when His Majesty visited Hasan Abdal and other places on the frontier. While at Lahore, His Majesty composed the following ode which he was pleased to send Khallil-ullah Khán with an autograph letter* :-

The Ode of Aurangzeb.

عزل مصنف اورنگ زیب بادشاہ
 زدرد دل چه نویسم که جوش لب تابي مست
 زمشوق جان چه نگارم که نامہ سیمایي مست
 شب خیال فراق که ریخت خون دلم
 که تار اشک گلایي و دیدہ عنایي مست
 چگونه شرح دهم حال دل که بیتابم
 زیاد تاب رخس دل کتان مہتابي مست

* *Maasiri Alamgiri*, 18th year of the reign.

نشد اینم درین بحر تا خدا چه کند
 بکشتی که ز یک قطره آب گرداییست
 نماند صورت راز دلم نهان عزت
 که دیده صفحہ تصویر رنگ بیخوابیست

"What should I say of the distress of the heart, it is boiling with fervour ;
 What should I write of the heart's desire, for through restlessness the paper in my hand trembles like mercury ;
 In a night of separation, the recollection of thee made my heart bleed,
 And a stream of tears flowed from my eyes, which have become red like the jujube ;
 How should I describe the state of my heart, since patience has altogether forsaken it ;
 The recollection of the splendour of thy countenance acts on it as the moon-light does upon linen ;
 In this ocean we sit in a boat awaiting the will of God, a drop of water being to us like a whirlpool ;
 The desire of my heart has not remained concealed, Izzat,
 For my very eyes reflect the image of restlessness."

Death of
Fázil Khán.

During the Emperor's stay in Kashmír, Fázil Khán, the Prime Minister, died, greatly to His Majesty's affliction. The body of the deceased, according to his will, was sent to Lahore, "to be interred there in a garden which he had himself laid out for the purpose."* On the Emperor's return from Kashmír, he staid for a few days in the garden of Dilkusha, across the Ravi, where he was met by the Lahore Governor, Ibrahim Khán. He offered Rs. 10,000 at the mausoleum of his grandfather Jahangir. On 11th Rabi-us-sani, a grand Darbar was held in the Sháh Burj, or the regal tower, which is praised "as the bestower of dignity on the highest heaven" and as a "house of wonders, in attempting to see which the sun, ascending the nine steps of heaven, each morning, is itself exalted."

The regal
tower:

در عمارات فیض بنیادشاه برج دارالسلطنت لاهور که در رفعت
 و شان عزت بخش چرخ ذات البروج و آفتاب هر صبح بعزم تماشائی
 آن شگرف مکان بر نردبان نه پایه فلك در عروج است

A grand
Darbar.

The palace was beautifully decorated, and there was a great display of splendour and magnificence. This being the forty-sixth anniversary of the king, His Majesty was weighed against gold, silver and other metals, which were given away in alms. The Omerahs of the Court were honored with dresses, among them being Ibrahim Khán, Governor of Lahore, Haji Mahomed Tahir,

* *Alamgirnáma*, page 833. Not a vestige of this garden, or the grave now remains.

+ *Alamgirnáma*, page 842.

Qiladar, Firoz Khán, Faujdár of Dipalpur, and Amir Khán, Governor of Cábul. Before leaving for Delhi, the camp was fixed for several days in the gardens of Fyz Bakhsh.

In the twenty-third year of the reign Prince Mahomed A'zim, third son of the Emperor, was appointed Viceroy of the Panjáb, with Lutf-ullah Khán, as his deputy ; but a few years afterwards, or in 1694 A.D., Sultán Mahomed Mo'azzam, afterwards Sháh Alam, was appointed Viceroy, and, by his gentle and amiable disposition, acquired great popularity in Lahore.

On the occasion of the Emperor's march to Kashmír in 1664, the French traveller, Bernier, accompanied the royal army to Lahore. In consequence of the heavy rains which had prevailed for some years previously, many houses had been totally destroyed and numbers of the inhabitants had been buried under their ruins. The river having changed its bed, the palace was no longer situated on its bank. Bernier calls it a "high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Delhi and Agra."

Lahore after the death of Aurangzeb.—With the death of Aurangzeb, the brilliant period of the history of Lahore may be said to have come at an end. No longer the residence of the Emperor and the members of the Imperial family, no more used as a rendezvous on the occasion of the royal visits to Kashmír and Cábul, which contributed so much to its splendour, it was the first place to suffer from the decay that was now undermining the throne of Tymúr. Receiving little support from the seat of Government at Delhi, the Viceroy of the Panjáb, assumed a position of semi-independence, while the Sikhs, unhampered in their actions, began to assume independence and disturb the peace of the country.

The Lahore Viceroy assumes the position of a satrap.

Bándá, a follower of Gurú Gobind, having, about this time, assumed the title of *Sacha Bádsháh*, or the true king, laid waste the country of Sirhand and Saharanpur, and his followers extended their depredations as far as Ráhon and Sultánpur in the Jullundur Doáb. The enemy then proceeded to plunder the neighbourhood of Lahore, and the greatest alarm prevailed in the city, and its vicinity. Islam Khán, the Naib of the Suba of Lahore, acting in concert with Kazim Khán, the Dewán, having strengthened the fortifications of the town, went out to meet the enemy at a distance of four or five *kos* from the city. The people residing in the city

The country ravaged by Bándá, the Sikh Gurú.

He invades Lahore, 1709 A. D.

were safe ; but the Sikhs plundered the outskirts up to the gardens of Shalimar* and then returned to Shahdera and Karnál.†

The Emperor Sháh Alam (Bahádúr Sháh) at Lahore, 1710.

The Emperor Sháh Alam, surnamed Bahádúr Sháh, son and successor of Aurangzeb, was at this time engaged in suppressing the Rájput rebellion. The following year (1710 A.D.), he marched to Lahore. On the approach of His Majesty, the insurgent Sikhs fled in all directions. The historian, Murtaza Husain, notices the royal visit to Lahore in the following terms :—

The historian Murtaza Husain's description of the Emperor's visit.

The tent called Dal Bádál.

“ His Majesty ordered that the Hindus should clip the hair of their heads, and the Sikhs their long beards. In those days, the Hindus, especially those of the district of Lahore, were bearded, and no distinction could, at first sight, be made between a Mahomedan and a Hindu; therefore orders were issued for clipping the beards of the Hindus. His Majesty then ordered that preparations should be made for a grand banquet in honor of the anniversary of his coronation, and that the large tent called the *Dal Bádál*, prepared in the time of Sháh Jahán, should be pitched. The tent was fixed in the space of a month, and the eyes of the beholders were dazzled at the sight of it. In this tent Bahádúr Sháh held a grand banquet. The four princes, Moz-ud-din Jahándár Sháh, Mahomed Azim-u-Shán, Khojista Akhtar Jahán Sháh and Rafík-i-ul-qadr Rafi-us-shán, together with their sons, and the Wazirs and Omerahs, great and small, were presented with dresses of honor, *jagirs*, cash, jewels, and pearls of great variety and value, and the gaieties of the banquet lasted for nine days.”‡

The Emperor's innovations in religion.

Being a follower of the *Shiá* sect, the Emperor tried, during his stay at Lahore, to introduce the word وصي “heir,” with the name of ‘Ali, the fourth Khalif in succession after Mahomed, to indicate that ‘Ali was the true “heir,” or successor to the Prophet.§ The innovation raised a storm of opposition among the Sunnis ; and,

* The name of “Shalimar” for the Fyz Bakhsh gardens is here for the first time mentioned by Kháfi Khán in the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*. This shows that the gardens came to be called “Shalimar” during the reign of Bahádúr Sháh.

† *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* of Kháfi Khán.

‡ *Hadikat-ul-Akalim*, Chapter III, p. 129.

§ The royal decree ordered that after the *Kalima*, or Mahomedan confession of faith,

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

“There is no God, but God and Mahomed is the Prophet of God,” should be read in the *Khuba* the expression,

وعلي ولي الله ووصي رسول الله

“And ‘Ali is the friend of God and heir of the Prophet of God.”—Vide *Ser-ul-muta Akhira*, Vol. I, p. 381.

as the Shia preacher was about to use the offensive expression in the pulpit in the grand mosque at Lahore, he was cut to pieces by the *Sunni* congregation. The *Sadr* of Lahore thereupon submitted a petition to the Emperor giving his grounds for supporting the *Sunni* doctrines. As the *Sadr* was supported by more than a hundred thousand persons, His Majesty, apprehending a general rising, endorsed an order on the petition, with his own hand, that the *Khutba* should be read in the form used during the reign of Alamgir Aurangzeb.*

A Shia preacher assassinated in the grand mosque.

The *Sunni* form of *Khutba* restored.

Some time before his death, the aged Emperor's intellect became impaired. During one of his attacks, he ordered that all the dogs in the city should be killed. The people concealed their domesticated dogs during the day, and, early in the morning, they were sent across the Ravi.† The Emperor died at Lahore on 28th February, 1712 A.D., at the age of 70.‡ He was a mild and munificent monarch. One of the city gateways, called the Sháhálmí gateway, is still known after his name, thus bearing testimony to his popularity.§

Illness of the Emperor.

His death, 1712.

Great confusion prevailed in the city on the death of the Emperor, and, if contemporary writers are to be believed, anything like order or discipline was quite unknown in the city of Lahore in those days. According to Mahomed Hádi, author of the *Tarikh-i-Choughattai*, "the people were greatly alarmed; ruffians and vagabonds began to lay their hands on the property of the residents; the streets were so crowded that a passage through them could be effected only with much difficulty; the Amirs, leaving the king's camp, hastened to the city with their families; but no houses could be found to accommodate them; people sought shelter in small shops for want of accommodation; the soldiers clamoured for their pay; and disturbances arose in the armies of the Princes. Fathers forsook their sons, and sons their fathers; every man had enough to do to take care of himself, and the scene resembled the day of judgment."||

Commotions in the city.

A contest for sovereignty among the four sons of the deceased Emperor followed immediately afterwards. All the royal nobles, except *Amir-ul-Omera Bakshi-ul-Mulk Zulfiqar Khán*, were in

Contest for sovereignty.

* *Kháfi Khán*.

† *Ser-ul-Mutakhirin*, Vol. I, p. 381.

‡ His body, having been sent from Lahore to Delhi, was buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of Qutb-ud-din.

§ It was formerly called the "Bherwala" gateway.—*Thornton*.

|| *Tazkira-i-Choughattai* of Mahomed Hádi. The author was Dewán of Lahore in the time of Bahádur Sháh, and held charge of Treasury subsequently.

The fight
at Lahore.

favor of Azimushán, a younger son, who was supported by an army of 78,000 horse. A fight took place outside the city walls between the armies of Azimushán and his elder brother, Jahándár-sháh, who had the support of the other two brothers. The three brothers, mounting their horses, conducted the operations in person, and firing was kept up for four or five days. At length, the elephant on which Azimushán was seated, being wounded in the trunk by a cannon ball, became restive and unmanageable. The infuriated animal took the direction of the Ravi, and throwing himself down a precipitous part of the bank, plunged into the water with its rider, never to appear again. The river being swollen and rapid on account of the melting of the snow in the Himalayas, the Prince and the elephant were carried off by the current, and no

Jahándar
Sháh gains
the victory
and ascends
the throne.

trace of them could afterwards be discovered. Ultimately Jahándar Sháh, having surprised and slain his remaining brothers, ascended the throne, but seven months afterwards the effeminate monarch was himself defeated by Ferukhsere, son of Azimushán, who, in the end, put his uncle to death in his prison, thus avenging the death of his father. Ferukhsere ascended the throne of Delhi on 9th January 1713.

The Sikhs
renew their
depredations.

During the commotions which followed the death of Bahádúr Sháh, the Sikhs emerged from their mountain retreats and laid waste the Panjáb from Ambálá to Lahore. The Emperor Ferukhsere sent Nawáb Abdul Samad Khán *Dilerjang*, a Turrání nobleman, as Viceroy of the Panjáb, and strengthened him with a number of chosen troops from the eastward. Abdul Samad Khán was a man of great energy and activity, and, under his able administration, the Panjáb flourished. He brought with him several detachments of his own warlike countrymen from Kashmír, of which he had been Governor, and, on the arrival of a train of artillery from Delhi, he left Lahore, and, falling upon the Sikhs, defeated them in a pitched battle at Gurdaspur, where they had built a strong fort, and put three or four thousand of their number to the sword. Those who escaped with their lives were sent in chains to the Emperor.* Bánda, their chief Gurú, with his son, seven or eight years old, his Dewán and three or four thousand Sikhs, were made prisoners. Nearly two thousand heads of the slain Sikhs were stuffed with hay, and, having been stuck upon spears, were sent to Delhi.† The Gurú and a large number of his followers were put to death, with terrible tortures, by order of the Emperor Ferukhsere. After Bánda's death an active persecution of the

Active mea-
sures of Ab-
dul Samad
Khán.

Punishment
of the Sikhs.

* *Muntakhib-ul-Lubáb of Kháfi Khán.*

† *Ibid.*

Sikhs was kept up ; thousands of their number sought shelter among the recesses of the hills ; and those who remained either had to renounce their religion and abandon the outward form of their belief, or were seized and put to death.*

Abdul Samad Khán was succeeded in the governorship of the Panjáb by his son Zakaria Khán, surnamed 'Az-ud-daula Khán Bahadur, whose uncle, Qamr-ud-din Khán, held the office of Prime Minister at Delhi. For twenty-one years (1717—1738 A. D.) the Panjáb enjoyed an interval of peace. The Viceroy, being little interfered with by the weak Court at Delhi, exercised absolute authority over the lives and property of the people ; but he used his power with prudence and moderation and for the good of his government.†

Nawáb Zakaria Khán, Viceroy of the Panjáb.

Invasion of Nádir Sháh.—At length, in 1738, the citizens of Lahore were roused from their long lethargy by a new danger which threatened India from the west. It was the approach of Nádir Kuli, otherwise known as Nádir Sháh, the great Asiatic conqueror, one of the most remarkable characters of Eastern history, who, with Tymúr and Chingez Khán, must be numbered among the most famous of the princes of the sword.‡ Having crossed the Indus on 18th November 1738, at the head of an army of two hundred and seventy thousand Persians, Georgians and Qazal Báshes, he laid waste the whole country between Pesháwar, Wazirabád and Emanábad. 'Az-ud-daulá Nawáb Zakaria Khán, with his army of twenty thousand horsemen, pitched his camp on the banks of the Rávi and strengthened his position by planting cannon in the best positions and throwing up entrenchments round the camp. The Sháh, however, leaving the artillery of the governor far to the left on the opposite bank, forded the river with his army and advanced to the gardens of Shálímár, where he pitched his camp. After two days' skirmishing the governor of Lahore, seeing that any attempt at resisting so formidable an enemy would be fruitless, sued the Persian Emperor for peace. On

Nádir Sháh crosses the Indus, 1738.

Zakaria Khán opposes his advance.

But finally sues for peace.

* A price was put on the head of every Sikh, and a strict search for them was made everywhere in the Province under the Governor of Lahore.—Forster's Travels, Vol. I, pp. 312—313, and Malcolm's Sketches of the Sikhs, pp. 85—86.

† Nawáb Khán Bahadur proved a most able and popular governor. He was liked by both the Hindus and Musalmans. For further particulars regarding this *Amir*, the reader is referred to my History of the Panjáb.

‡ Nádir Sháh was truly a man of the sword. At the nuptial ceremonies of his son with a daughter of the Emperor of Delhi, after the pillage of that city, when the latter sent a messenger to the Persian monarch to name his male pedigree, extending over seven generations, before securing the hand of a daughter of Tymúr's race, he said to the ambassador :—"Go and tell your master, my son is the son of Nádir Sháh, the son of the sword, the grandson of the sword, and so on until he can count seventy generations." Like the founders of Rome he was originally a shepherd.

the 12th of Shawál, Nádír Sháh received the Lahore viceroy in open Darbár with every mark of distinction and courtesy, presenting him with a *chapkan* of gold brocade, a jewelled dagger and a horse. On the 14th, he paid another visit to the Sháh, whom he presented with a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees, a portion of which had been contributed by the wealthy inhabitants of the town. The cupidity of the Sháh, having been thus satiated, the city of Lahore was saved from the horrors of death and spoliation. "His Persian Majesty," writes a contemporary historian, "was full of kindness to the Názim ('Az-ud-daula Zakaria Khán), took his second son Hayát-ullah Khán Bahadur into his service, and appointed him to the command of five hundred horse."* On the 29th of December the Sháh's army left Lahore for Delhi.

During the vigorous rule of 'Abdul Samad Khán and his son, Zakaria Khán, the Sikhs behaved themselves as peaceful subjects and lived in harmony in their villages, or lurked in woods and valleys with the view of obtaining a livelihood by robbery. But the distractions of the Mahomedan empire at Delhi and the intrigues and imbecilities of the Viceregal court at Lahore, were favorable to them, and, assuming an organised martial appearance, they now attacked villages and plundered towns. A body of insurgent Sikhs, after devastating the country round Emanabád, north of Lahore, proceeded to levy contributions. The Governor Yahyá Khán, son and successor of Zakaria Khán, Khán Bahadur, sent a detachment of troops under the command of his Dewán, Jaspat Ráe, brother of the Prime Minister, Lakhpat Ráe. The Sikhs defeated the governor's troops, and their leader was slain. The Governor sent a large force under Lakhpat Ráe, who avenged his brother's death by putting a large number of the marauders to the sword. Many were brought in chains to Lahore, where they were mercifully executed at a place called *Ghora Nakhas*, or the horse-market, since called by the Sikhs *Shahid Ganj*, or place of martyrs, in memory of the event. The site of the execution is further indicated by a *Samadh*, or tomb, erected in honor of Bhai Tárú Singh, the chief martyr, an old companion of Gurú Gobind, who, though offered a pardon if he would give up the outward symbol of his religion and renounce his faith, preferred death to a humiliating expedient. This event happened in 1746.

Invasion of Ahmad Sháh.—Two years after this event, or in 1748, Ahmad Sháh, the successor of Nádír Sháh, having crossed the Indus with a view to conquering Hindustán, approached the Rávi

* Tazkara of Anand Rám Mukhlis.

at the head of an army of 12,000 Durráni horse. The viceroyalty of Lahore was then contested between the two sons of Zakaria Khán, Sháh Nawáz Khán and Hayatullah Khán, surnamed Sháh Nawáz Khan.* The latter, who was governor of Multán, having defeated his elder brother Yahyá Khán, had assumed the viceroyalty of the Panjáb. The Court at Delhi was either too weak, or too indifferent, to interfere. In vain did Sháh Nawáz Khán ask the Imperial Court for help against the invading army of Ahmad Sháh. His expectations of succour from Delhi being disappointed, Sháh Nawáz Khán guarded all the gates and streets of the city, and sent a force under Sirdár Zilla Khán, of Kasur, to oppose the Cábul army. The Pathán chief went over with his whole force to the enemy. Ahmad Sháh sent his domestic priest, Sábir Sháh, to the Lahore governor, to persuade him by negotiations, to desist from opposing his progress. Sháh Nawáz Khán received the priest in open Darbár with due courtesy, but, finding him insolent, had his head cut off by the executioner's sword.† The insult thus offered to the Durráni Ahmad Sháh so much exasperated that monarch, that he instantly crossed the Rávi and appeared before the walls of Lahore at the head of his army. The Lahore governor took up an entrenched position under the walls of the city, but the resistance offered by him was slight, and the redoubts being quickly reduced by the Durráni warriors, Sháh Nawáz Khán fled to Delhi, leaving Lahore and its people at the mercy of the invader. The city was immediately occupied by Ahmad Sháh, who levied a heavy contribution from the townspeople.

Sháh Nawáz Khán,
Viceroy of
Lahore.

Sábir Sháh,
the family
priest of Ah-
mad Sháh
Abdáli.

The high
priest is as-
sassinated at
Lahore.

Lahore in-
vaded and oc-
cupied by
Ahmad Sháh,
1748.

Ahmad Sháh advanced to Delhi, but, having sustained a check at Sirhind from the army of the heir-apparent, assisted by the bravery and skill of Mír Moin-ul-mulk, surnamed Mír Mannú, son of the late Wazír Qamr-ud-dín, was compelled to retreat with precipitation. Mír Moin-ul-Mulk was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Lahore.

Mír Moin-
ul-Mulk ap-
pointed Vice-
roy of Lahore.

The Emperor Mahomed Sháh having died at Delhi in April 1748, the Prince royal was recalled from the Panjáb. Ahmad Sháh, on hearing this intelligence, countermanded the retreat of his army, and, with his usual expedition, marched against Lahore. Mír Mannú, whose spirit and intelligence had rolled back the first Durráni invasion, having moved out of Lahore, intrenched himself at Sadhourá, south of the Chenáb, and the bold front displayed

Second in-
vasion of Ah-
mad Sháh,
1748.

* This was the title conferred on Hayat-ullah Khán by Nádir Sháh on his first arrival at Lahore.

† The tomb of Sábir Sháh is situated on a raised platform at the back of the Imperial Mosque of Aurangzeb. See Chapter II, Article No. 6.

by him deterred the Sháh for the time from prosecuting further plans of aggrandizement. He, however, compelled the governor to cede to him in perpetuity the revenue of the four districts of Lahore, namely, Sialkot, Emanábád, Pasrúr and Aurangábád, and, after making these arrangements, marched back to Candahár.

Third Invasion, 1752.

Lahore laid under siege by the Durrání army.

Mír Mannú having, as might have been expected, failed to remit the stipulated revenue to Cábul, Ahmad Sháh was furnished with a pretext for again invading the Panjáb which he did in the winter of 1752. Mír Mannú called to his aid Adina Beg Khán, the active governor of the Jullundur Doáb, and Rája Koura Mal, the Dewán of Multán, and formed an intrenched camp at Sháhdará on the Rávi ; but, as the Durrání troops, breaking up their quarters suddenly, moved eastward, the viceroy withdrew to Lahore, barricaded all the streets, strengthened the interior defences and took up an intrenched position before the walls of the city. The Durrání army laid siege to Lahore, the Sháh's camp being fixed in the neighbourhood of the Shálimár gardens. For four months the gallant Mír Mannú resolutely maintained his position, remaining strictly on the defensive and avoiding a general action. There were continued skirmishes and firing with guns and matchlocks on both sides. But the blockade maintained by the enemy was strict, and, provisions failing, the Lahore army sallied out early on the morning of 12th April 1752, and took up its position on an elevated brick-kiln near the village of Mahmúd Búti. The Sháh's army forthwith advanced with the regularity of a parade movement, and his artillery opened fire on the Lahore troops. But the fire was answered with such energy and precision that, by noon of the same day, the ranks of the besieging army were thrown into confusion. The Sháh, observing this, ordered a fresh charge of a select body of Durrání Horse, and it was so impetuous that the scale of victory was at once turned. Mír Mannú was compelled to fall back on his intrenchments. There he still held his ground ; but incidents beyond his control now happened which induced him to yield to circumstances. Adina Beg Khán suddenly withdrew his troops from the field, while the elephant on which Rája Koura Mal was seated, having caught its foot in the hollow of an old grave, the Rája was overtaken by a Durrání horseman and slain. Mír Mannú, finding his position untenable, submitted to the Sháh. The Viceroy obtained an audience of the Sháh through Jahán Khán, the Wazir, and was received with due honor and courtesy. His Majesty expressed his admiration of the courage, resolution and tact displayed by Mír Mannú on all occasions, called him Rustam-i-Hind, or the champion of India, honored him with a valuable *khilat* and the

Mír Main-ul-Mulk submitted to the Sháh.

title of *Farzand Khán*, and, having exacted a heavy ransom from him, reinstated him in the office of viceroy of the Panjáb under the Durráni government of Cábul.

Mír Mannú did not long survive to enjoy his new honors. He was, the same year (1752 A.D.), killed by a fall from his horse, leaving an infant son, Amín-ud-dín Khán, and a widow, Morád Begam, a spirited and talented lady. Such had been the respect excited in the Abdálí's mind towards this officer that he carried out his policy of leaving the provinces of Lahore and Multán in charge of the family, even after his death, and confirmed his infant son in the government under the tutelage of his mother. The infant dying ten months after, the Begam who had interest enough amongst the chiefs of the province, proclaimed herself viceroy of the Panjáb and despatched agents to the courts of both Cábul and Delhi to secure her acknowledgment.

Death of
Mír Moin-ul-
Mulk, 1752.

Morád Be-
gam, his wi-
dow, assumes
the governor-
ship.

Her duplicity being soon discovered, Gházi-ud-dín *Imad-ul-Mulk*, the Delhi Wazír, marched to Lahore at the head of an army, taking with him the heir-apparent, Mirza 'Ali Gauhar, eldest son of 'Alamgír II, who had succeeded Ahmad Sháh on the throne of Delhi. Lahore was seized by a *coup de main*, and the lady Regent taken prisoner in her own bed. The young Wazír secured the hand of the widow's daughter, to whom he had been previously affianced, and, appointing Adina Beg Khán to the government of the city, on his promising to remit a tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees to the imperial treasury, marched back to Delhi. The distressed Begam burst into invectives against the treachery of her son-in-law, and prophesied the fall of the empire of Delhi, the ruin of the city, and the disgrace of its nobles.*

Gházi-ud-
dín, the Del-
hi Wazír,
marches to
Lahore.

And seizes
Morád Be-
gam, who is
sent to Deli
as a prisoner.

No sooner had the Abdálí Ahmad Sháh heard of the aggression of the Delhi Wazír, than he left Candahár, crossed the Indus (A.D. 1755-56), and occupied Lahore without opposition. Adina Beg Khán, being unable to resist, fled to Hissar. After ravaging Delhi and Mathra, Ahmad Sháh returned to Lahore, and, leaving his son Tymúr Sháh, to govern the provinces east of the Indus, under the guardianship of his Minister, Sirdár Jahán Khán, retired to Candahár with the bulk of his army.

Fourth in-
vasion of Ah-
mad Sháh,
1755-56.

The Sikhs had, in the meantime, increased in number and audacity, and their armed bands devastated various districts of the Panjáb. To take vengeance on the Sikhs for all their excesses, Tymúr Sháh marched to Amritsar, their capital, which he destroyed

The pro-
ceedings of
Tymúr Sháh.

* *Tárikh-i-Ahmad Sháhí*.

defiling their sacred tank and polluting others of their places of worship. This roused the fury of the Sikhs, and they swarmed round Lahore and divided the revenues of the towns and villages around it. Týmúr Sháh made repeated attacks on them with the remnants of his army, but was constantly defeated. He was at last compelled to evacuate the town and retire beyond the Indus,

The Sikhs and the capital of the Panjáb falling for the first time into the hands of the Sikhs (A. D. 1756-57), their leader Jassa Singh, the *Kalal*, ordered rupees to be coined with the inscription :—

مک زد در جهان بفضل اکال ملک احمد گرفت جسا کلال

“Jassa, the *Kalal*, having conquered the country of Ahmad,

Struck coin in the world through the grace of Immortal.”

Adina Beg
Khán invites
the Mahrattas
to the Panjáb,
1758.

But their occupation of Lahore was of a short duration. The wily chief, Adina Beg Khán, the deputy of Mír Mannú, to whose forbearance the Sikhs owed so much of their power, seeing that the disciples of the Gurú were turning every opportunity to their own advantage and were becoming intractable, invited the Mahrattás, who were now at Delhi, to undertake the conquest of the fertile province of the Panjáb, stipulating to pay the expenses of their march. Lahore was occupied by the Mahrattas under Rago Náth Ráo and Malhar Ráo, and the Sikhs were expelled, Adina Beg Khán being appointed governor of Lahore, A. D. 1758. He had, however, enjoyed his new office only a few months when he died.

Fifth Inva-
sion of Ah-
mad Sháh,
1761.

The success of the Mahrattas caused a fifth invasion of the Abdáli sovereign, and the great battle fought at Pánipat, A. D. 1761, resulted in the total wreck of their army of 300,000 fighting men, and the extinction of their power. One Boland Khán Pathán was appointed chief magistrate of Lahore, but the power of the Sikhs was by this time fully developed. Their councils were publicly held at Amritsar and the votaries of the Gurú freely bathed in the holy pool. Khwaja Obed, the Afghán governor of Lahore, who had succeeded Boland Khán, dared scarcely show himself beyond the walls of the city.

Sixth inva-
sion, 1762.

Intelligence of these events having reached the Abdáli Ahmad Sháh, he was again on the scene in November 1762, this being his sixth invasion. The Sháh rejoined his main army at Lahore, and a most sanguinary battle was fought between the Afgháns and the Sikhs on the plains of Kot Rahira, on the south bank of the Sutlej, in which the latter were utterly routed. The disaster is called by the Sikhs *Ghallughará*, or the “bloody carnage,” and from 25,000 to 30,000 of their number are said to have fallen. The Sháh returned to Cábul the same year, leaving

Kabuli Mal,

Kabuli Mal, a Khatri, as his governor of Lahore.

Hardly had the Abdali monarch left the confines of India, than the Sikhs, ever on the alert, rushed again into the plains from their mountain retreats with renewed vigour and recruited numbers. They sacked Kasur and razed the ancient town of Sirhind to the ground. This induced Ahmad Sháh to undertake his seventh expedition into the Panjáb, and he appeared before the walls of Lahore in January 1764. The Sikhs, on his arrival, adopted their old plan of dispersing in every direction, and the Sháh had to retrace his steps to Cábul without finding an opportunity to punish them effectually. The Sikhs, collecting again, made themselves masters of Lahore and ejected the Hindu governor* of Ahmad Sháh. The city was parcelled out by the captors in three divisions, which were held respectively by Gujar Singh, Lahna Singh and Sobha Singh. These were called the triumvirate Sikh lords of Lahore; the jurisdiction of the first was between Shálimár and Lahore, where he built a fort for himself, called after his name; Lahna Singh took charge of the citadel, with the Masti, Khizri, Káshmirí and Raushnai Gates, and Sobha Singh established himself in the garden of Zebinda Begam, now known as Nawánkot.

Seventh invasion, 1764.

The Sikhs again make themselves masters of Lahore.

The triumvirate governors of Lahore.

Ahmad Sháh made his final descent into the Panjáb in 1767, when the Bhangi Sirdárs of Lahore retired to Panjwár. But the wary veteran was feeling the weight of years and had no man of genius to take charge of the Province; he therefore resolved to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Sikhs. Having recalled Lahna Singh, he confirmed him in his possession of Lahore and returned to Cábul, where he died in the beginning of June 1773.†

Eighth invasion of Ahmad Sháh, 1767.

Invasion of Sháh Zamán--For thirty years following this event, the Bhangi Sirdárs ruled Lahore in tolerable quiet, but the spell was again broken in 1797, when Sháh Zamán, the son of Týmúr Sháh, and the grandson of the celebrated Abdáli, advanced to

Invasion of Sháh Zamán, 1797.

* Kábuli Mal was a timid, and at the same time a tyrannical man. Having obtained intelligence of the plot of the Sikh confederacies to capture Lahore, he fled to Jammu for safety, leaving Lahore in charge of his nephew, Amir Singh. One dark night, Lahna Singh and Gujar Singh, Bhangis, determined to take Lahore by surprise. They found all the gates closed, but a drain was shown them by one Dial Singh, by which it was possible to enter, with some squeezing. By this passage the Sirdárs effected their entry and were followed by 200 other Sikhs. They took possession of the fort by surprise. Amir Singh, the deputy governor, was arrested, while at a dancing party, and put in chains, and, before the daybreak, the whole town was in the hands of the confederate Sirdárs.--*Panjáb Chiefs*.

† Ahmad Sháh died in the 50th year of his age. His complaint was a cancer in the face which seems to have first afflicted him in 1764.

A l a r m
caused in the
countr y by
the invasion
of Sháh Za-
mán.

Lahore at the head of an army of 33,000 men, who were almost all cavalry. The approach of the Afghán monarch at the head of so large a force, not only created the greatest alarm in the Panjáb, but caused a degree of sensation at Calcutta. Sir John Shore, the Governor General, wrote a long minute, under date the 4th of July, 1797, in which he discussed at full length the probable consequence of his advance and concluded that his expedition to Lahore, although experimental at the time, had for its ultimate object the invasion of Hindustán. The native army was augmented, and troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness in different cantonments to move to any quarter where their services might be required.

He appears
before the
walls of La-
hore.

The beginning of the cold weather saw the hill veterans of the Cábul monarch, with their tall sheep-skin caps, before the walls of the palace, and the old residents of Lahore had, until lately, within their recollection, the then youthful warrior dressed in his tall cap, and superbly mounted on a spirited Persian steed. On the approach of the Sháh, Lahna Singh retired from Lahore, but the alarm occasioned by his arrival was dispelled by the retreat of His Majesty to his own dominions, the peace of which had been disturbed by the rebellion of one of his brothers, though he did not quit the capital of the Panjáb until he had raised a subsidy of thirty lakhs of rupees from the few wealthy residents who still lived in the town.

But even-
tually retires
to Cábul.

Second in-
vasion of
Sháh Zamán,
1798.

Sháh Zamán again appeared in Lahore in 1798, but he had been there only a few months when tidings from Persia rendered his departure necessary; the year, however, is memorable in history, for it was at this period that Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh of the Sukerchakiá *Misl*, first made himself conspicuous by adopting a step towards obtaining regal power in the Panjáb. In return for the services rendered by him to the Durráni sovereign, the principal of which was the recovery and despatch to Cábul of eight out of twelve guns which had sunk in the river Jhelum, Ranjit Singh obtained from the retiring monarch a formal grant of the imperial city of Lahore. The gift was only nominal, as Ranjit Singh had to acquire the chiefship of the ancient city for himself; yet it served the double purpose of securing the friendship and support of a powerful neighbouring country and of warding off the jealousy of the Musalman population. From this period the history of Lahore merges into the history of its great Mahárája, the events of whose life are so familiar to the reader of history that it is only necessary to give a brief sketch of them here.

He makes
a formal grant
of the chief-
ship of Lahore
to Ranjit
Singh, 1798.

Ranjit Singh.—Sobha Singh, the “triumvir,” died in 1797, after the first appearance of Sháh Zamán in Lahore, and was succeeded by his son Mohar Singh, while Lahna Singh was succeeded by Chet Singh. Sahib Singh, son of Gujar Singh, the only man of energy amongst the triumvirate, was absent at Gujráť; Chet Singh and Mohar Singh, who were left in Lahore, possessed neither character nor influence. Their own followers, Hákam Ráe, Bhái Gur Bakhsh Singh, Mián ‘Ashaq Mahomed, and Mír Shádi, colluded with Ranjit Singh, who entered Anarkali with a large force. Mohkam Din, Chaudhri, who was in charge of the Lahori gate, opened it to the invader, who took possession of the city, Chet Singh and Mohar Singh escaping on his approach, 1799. He assumed the title of “Sirkár,” signifying *State*, and established a mint in 1800, *i. e.*, 1857 Samvat). It is remarkable that, although Ranjit had commenced his career as a sovereign, he never assumed royal titles, or aspired to regal dignity. His coins do not bear his name. He fixed his name on nothing, gave his name to nothing. The fort he built at Amritsar, he called Govind Garh; the garden he laid out there, he named Rám Bágh. In 1802, he reduced Amritsar, the capital of the Sikhs, evicting the widow of the last Bhangi leader of note. In 1806, he crossed the Sutlej and took Ludhiáná; the following year he conquered Kasúr; in 1809, he entered into a treaty with the British Government, which confined his ambition for the future to the north and westward of the river Sutlej. It is to the credit of Ranjit that he observed this treaty with absolute fidelity as long as he lived. The same year he acquired Kángra from Sansár Chand; in 1813, his army, under Dewán Mohkam Chand, having defeated the Cábul Wazír, Fatteh Khán, and his brother, Dost Mahomed Khán, took possession of Attock; in 1813-14, he wrested the famous Koh-i-Núr diamond from Sháh Shuja, ex-king of Cábul; in 1818, he captured Multán; towards the end of the same year, he crossed the Indus and entered Pesháwar, which was evacuated on his approach; in 1819, his army, under Prince Kharak Singh and Misser Dewán Chand, conquered Kashmír; in 1819-20, the Deraját of the Indus were annexed to his dominions; in 1834, his commanders, under the Jammu Rájás, reduced Ladákh.

Ranjit Singh in possession of Lahore, 1799.

His conquests.

His treaty with British Government, 1809.

Ranjit Singh died at Lahore on 27th June 1839, aged fifty-seven. He died as like the old Lion as he had lived. In the course of forty years of his career, he had not only reduced to subjection the proud and high spirited chiefs of his nation, but he had created an army of 80,000 of all arms, in a high state of discipline, with 300 admirable guns. He left a country which extended from the

His death, 1839.

confines of Thibet to the great Sulemán range, and from beyond the Indus to the extreme limits of Multán.

He is succeeded by
K h a r a k
Singh.

Successors of Ranjit Singh.—Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his eldest son, Kharak Singh, an imbecile monarch, who, having died in 1840, was succeeded by his son Naunehál Singh. This latter met his death by the fall of a portion of the archway leading to Hazurí Bágh, as he was returning after performing the funeral rites of his father; and thus the same day that witnessed his coronation, saw him deprived of life. Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, was elected sovereign; but Chand Kour, the widow of Kharak Singh, and mother of the slain prince, assumed power.

Maháráni
Chand Kour.

Mahárája
Sher Singh.

Sher Singh, who was popular with the army, assaulted Lahore on the 14th January 1841, and, the *Mai* Chand Kour having yielded, he was proclaimed Mahárája, with Dehán Singh as his Wazir. The Scindhiánwálás, feeling that they must prove obnoxious to the new ruler, formed a plot for his destruction, and Sher Singh was assassinated on the 15th September 1843, by Ajit Singh who likewise put Dehán Singh to death. The death of Dehán Singh was avenged by his son Hirá Singh, who besieged Lahore and assaulted the citadel. The army responded to his call, and both places were reduced. Ajit Singh was seized, while attempting to escape from the lofty wall of the fort, and Lahna Singh, his associate in the late conspiracy, was at once slain. Dalip Singh was proclaimed Mahárája, and Hirá Singh, his Wazir.

His assassi-
nation, 1843.

Dalip Singh

S u c h e t
Singh killed
in an action
with his ne-
phew H i r á
Singh.

The new minister was virtually ruler of the Panjáb, but he was solely guided by Pandit Jalla, his preceptor. Two of the chief enemies of Rája Hirá Singh's rule were Rája Suchet Singh, his uncle, and Sardár Attar Singh Scindhiánwaliá. A large army marched against the former, and put his little band of followers to flight, and the brave Rája died fighting to the last, near the tomb of Mián Waddá, in the vicinity of Lahore. Attar Singh and Kashmíra Singh, a reputed son of Mahárája Ranjit Singh, were attacked near Firozpur by a large body of troops from Lahore, and were both slain. Jalla Pandit, by his haughty conduct, irritated the Sikhs and offended the Queen-Mother. Both he and his master, Hirá Singh, had to fly from Lahore, but were overtaken at Sháhderá and put to death, 21st December 1844.

W h o, in
his turn meets
a similar fate.

J a w a h i r
Singh and his
sister R á n i
Jindán.

Jawahir Singh, the brother of the Ráni, and Lál Singh, her favorite, became the most influential members of the administration. The former was formally appointed Wazir, but he incurred the displeasure of the Khalsá army, was condemned and put to death, 21st September 1845. The army was now all powerful, and

in expectation of the English war, Lál Singh was elected Wazir, and Tej Singh, Commander-in-Chief. War with the English was declared on the 17th November, and the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej on the 11th December 1845. The battles of Mudki (18th December), Feroz Shahr (21st and 22nd December), the skirmish of Baddowál (21st January 1846), the battles of Aliwál (28th January), and Sobráon (10th February), resulted in the total defeat of the Sikhs and the occupation of Lahore by the British troops. The British army arrived at the Sikh capital on the 20th February 1846, and the citadel was garrisoned by English regiments. A convention was entered into for the administration of the government, by a Council at Lahore, under British superintendence, during the minority of Dalip Singh, and Lál Singh, who had excited the late insurrection, was removed from Lahore. The removal of Lál Singh excited the bitterest feelings in the heart of Rání Jindán, and the Sikhs were not satisfied with the settlement of their country as effected by the Governor-General. Mul Ráj, the Sikh Governor of Multán, rebelled, and a second Sikh war ensued. Multán was conquered, and the rebel Mul Ráj taken prisoner. He was tried by a Military Court-Martial and found guilty. But British clemency prevailed, and his life was spared ; he was imprisoned for life.

First Sikh War.

Lahore occupied by the British troops, 1846.

Rebellion of Dewán Mul Ráj.

The insurrection of Multán was followed by an open rebellion of the great Sikh army and the Sikh population. The Khálsá army approached within sixty miles of Lahore. Lord Gough being put at the head of the Panjáb army, the bloody battle of Chilliánwálá was fought on the 13th January 1848. This was the last great effort of Ranjit Singh's army to recover their country, and it was followed by the battle of Gujrat, 21st February 1848, when Lord Gough, advancing with his whole army, utterly routed the Sikhs. Dalip Singh was formally deposed on the 29th March 1848, and the kingdom of Lahore having come to an end, the country was annexed to the British Empire.

Second Sikh War.

Collapse of the Sikhs monarchy.

CHAPTER IV.

(The Antiquities of Lahore.)

Antiquity of
the city.

THE subject of the antiquity of the city of Lahore has been fully dealt with in the historical portion (Chapter I.) of this work, in which it has been pointed out that Lahore was presumably founded by a colony of Rájputs from western India.

Lahore became part and parcel of the Muhammadan Empire of Ghizni in 1002 A. D.*

The *Talwara* and the
Rara.

Old Lahore was in a ruinous condition when Mahmúd invaded it. The city was then divided into two parts,—one called *Talwara*, and the other *Rara*. The *Talwara* portion of the city existed about the Taxali gate quarters, now known as *Tibbi*, from its being situated on an elevated ground, the *debris* of centuries before the time of Mahmúd's conquest. The *Rara* was the part of the city where now stands the Mosque of Wazir Khán. In old deeds and documents, the Taxali gate quarters are styled the *Guzar Talwara*, and the Delhi gate quarters about the Mosque of Wazir Khán, the *Rara*.

Condition
of the city at
the time of
Mahmúd's in-
vasion.

According to *Khulasat-ul-Tuwarikh*, a great famine raged in the Panjáb at the time of Mahmúd's invasion of the country. Mahmúd rebuilt the town, but the population of the city was scattered in different localities, called *guzars*, and the city was without the walls. The walls round the city were built by Akbar. The

* According to Sheikh Ahmad Zanjání, the author of *Tuhfat-ul-Wasilin* تحفة الواصلين Lahore was founded by Raja Prichat, a Pandu King. But the Pandus reigned in 1200 B.C., and we find no mention of Lahore by the Greek historians of Alexander who invaded the Panjáb, in 327 B.C. It is possible that some city, bearing resemblance to the name Lahore, may have been founded in the neighbouring locality by the Pandus about the period mentioned, but even if this be taken as a fact, it must have been quite an unimportant place at the time of Alexander's invasion, as is evident from the entire absence of all mention of such a town, or any town resembling it, in the accounts furnished by the Greek authors.

Sheikh Ahmad compiled his book in 435 A.H., or 1043 A.D., when the Panjáb was governed by Sultán Maudúd, son of Sultán Masúd, and his chronicles, written so recently after the collapse of the Hindu monarchy in the Panjáb, are entitled to some weight. They at least establish, beyond a doubt, the antiquity of the city of Lahore. According to the author, the city became desolate by lapse of time, and, after a long period of obscurity, was repopled by Raja Bikramajit, who dying soon after, his son Samand Pal turned his attention to populating the town. He gave the town the name Samandpal Nagri. When Raja Dip Chand ascended the throne of Delhi, he ceded the Panjáb to his nephew Lahor Chand, who, on consolidating his government in that Province, established the capital of his kingdom at Lahore, giving it the name Lohar-pur. This confirms the fact, already noted, that, among other names, Lahore has been also known as Lohar-pur. In the course of time the city came to be called Lahore.

historians of *Mahmūd* have given the following chronogram of the foundation of the city by that conqueror :—

Date of
foundation by
Mahmūd,
1004 A. D.

مصود بنا کرد چو لاهور لہانور در ہند یکی کعبہ مقصود بنا کرد
الدیش چو کردم پی تاریخ بنایش فی الفور خرد گفت کہ مصود بنا کرد

"When Mahmūd founded Lahore—Lahanūr,
"He laid the foundation of a *Kadba*, which was the desire of the heart,
"When I considered for the year of foundation,
"Forthwith reason said; 'Mahmūd is the founder.'"

The numerical value of the words مصود بنا کرد (*Mahmūd* is the founder) is 375, but when 20, the numerical value of ک (*Kaf*), which precedes it, is added to it, the number obtained is 395 A.H., which is equal to 1004 A. D. the date of the foundation of Mahomedan Lahore by Mahmūd.

THE CENTRAL MUSEUM.

The Central Museum, better known among the people under the designation of *Ajayabghar*, or the "house of wonders," is close to the General Post Office and the "Panjāb Public Library." The building was constructed from local, provincial and imperial funds for the Panjāb Exhibition of natural products, arts and manufactures, which was opened on 20th January 1864, and closed in the first week of April. The building was not intended to be permanent, and the exhibits will be removed to the adjoining building, the Technical Institute, now in course of construction, as soon as it is complete.

Date of
building.

The collections of the Museum are divided into two parts, that on the left of the entrance hall comprising specimens of the antiquities, arts and manufactures of the Province, and that on the right samples of its raw products, mineral, animal and vegetable. Both represent the collections displayed in the Exhibition of 1864; but large additions have been since made to the Museum in all its branches.

The collec-
tions divided
into two de-
partments.

The Museum has become very popular and access is allowed to all at the fixed hours. As the visitors enter, they have each to pass through a turn-stile, which registers their number.

In the central hall, towards the right hand side, are a painted door from the Lahore fort; carved windows in shisham and deodar wood from Chiniot, zilah Jhang, and Bhera, zilah Shāhpur; and a carved balcony from an old house in the city of Lahore. Towards the left are a painted door from the Shalimār garden; a carved door and panels above, from Mahārāja Khark Singh's *haveli* (since dismantled), in the city of Lahore, presented by the Municipal Committee;

Painted
doors and
wood carving.

a carved door from Amritsar ; a carved screen, the work of Rám Singh *Mistri* ; * and a model of a carved door brass-mounted from Bhiwani.

The art of wood-carving in the Panjáb.

Wood-carving in the Panjáb is essentially conventional, but the art is still full of life and vigor. It is largely resorted to in the windows and doorways of native houses, and in response to a European demand carved articles for furniture and drawing-room decorations are now made in the Districts of Sháhpur, Jhang and Hoshiarpur. The style of carving in the Panjáb is Mahomedan, the chief characteristic of the ornamentations being panels of framed lattice work in geometric designs, such as hexagons, triangles, &c., giving it, on the whole, an Arabic character.

Old Cannons.

The next objects of interest in the entrance hall, are a brass cannon of Mahomedan time, probably the 18th century ; two ancient Sikh cannons found at Anandpur, in the Hoshiarpur District, and supposed to be of the time of Gurú Gobind Singh, and specimens of ceiling decorations in plaster and gilt from Amritsar.

Decorative ceiling work.

The art of decorating ceilings with fragments of convex mirror is well-known in Persia and in Cairo, which can even show a greater variety of pattern than the Panjáb. It consists of combinations of white plaster, modelled by hand in relief, with pieces of mirror silvered on the inside and wrought with great refinement and delicacy in Arabesque design. The effect is often most imposing and beautiful. The art was introduced into the Panjáb by its Mahomedan conquerors.

Flags from Ambeyla.

In the same room will be found four flags captured in the Ambeyla campaign, 1863, by Major Chamberlain, Commanding the 23rd Pioneers.

Ancient Brahmanical sculptures.

Some beautiful ancient sculptures, lying in the entrance hall, deserve mention. These consist of a marble sculpture presented by the Municipal Committee, Sirsa ; a Brahmanical sculpture *Shiv* and *Parbatti* riding on an ox ; a Brahmanical sculpture image, *Chattar Bhoji Devi*, also presented by the Sirsa Municipal Committee ; *Buddhu Devi* sculpture, four feet in height from China, 10 miles from Amritsar (China is believed to be the China Patti of Hewen Thsang, which the Emperors of Kaniska

* This artist, an Assistant Master of the Lahore Mayo School of Art, left Lahore a short time ago, for Osborne, Isle of Wight, to make designs for decorations for the new dining-room of the Royal Palace. He was recently, in company with Mr. J. L. Kipling, introduced to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, who conversed with him in good *Hindustani*, and who has since visited him every day, making some kind and gracious remark to him in the same language.

made the winter residence of Hewen Thsang); two Brahmanical sculptures found in the vicinity of the Choya Sedan Sháh hills, Jhelum District, presented by the Deputy Commissioner of Jhelum; and an altar in red sand-stone from Mathra, with two females in front and three behind, presented by Major-General Cunningham.

In an upright glass case are arranged specimens of Panjáb jewelry. Among these are: forehead ornaments from Kángra, silver ear-rings, silver necklaces with imitation coins; Delhi silver bracelets, armlets, belts, plates; Baháwalpur enamel anklets; and Multán enamel bracelets, necklaces, foot rings, &c. There are gold charms with the image of *Mátá*, worn by *Bagri Jats* of *Sirsa*; also ancient jewelry found in the Yusafzai Valley, believed to be contemporary with the Buddhist sculptures. Delhi is noted for its articles of jewelry, the neatness of the execution and the freshness and variety of the designs. The skill of the silversmiths lies in the delicacy and exactness with which they combine the precious stones with metal and enamel. In Kángra beautiful articles of silver, enamelled in green, blue and yellow, are made; Multán is noted for its silver ornaments, enamelled in red, black, dark and light blue and an inferior yellow.

Close to the southern gateway is a beautiful collection of ancient Buddhist remains, among them being two inscribed stones, one belonging to the time of Gondophares, traditionally identified with the King Godoforus, who put St. Thomas to death. The sculptures most interesting in this group are the following:—

Large circular base of a pillar from a Greek Ionic Temple at Mohra Maliar, a mound on the ruins of the ancient city of Taxila (*Shah ki Dheri*) in the Ráwalpindi District. This was the first specimen of pure Greek architecture discovered in the Panjáb. It is the perfect Attic base of a column, 2 feet 4½ inches in diameter, the only difference being the greater projection of the fillet immediately below the upper torus. General Sir Cunningham identifies these ruins with a temple described by Appollonius, "whose dimensions were nearly 100 feet, built of porphyry, within which was a chapel, too small in proportion to the size of the temple, which was large, spacious, and surrounded with pillars."

Pillar from Jhelum, supposed by General Cunningham to belong to a temple built about 600 to 800 A. D. This pillar was found in the excavations for the Railway in the great mound at Jhelum (N. W. R.); at the same time, 23 pillar bases of a similar kind were discovered. A door jamb from the same mound, discovered by General Abbott, and engraved in the *Bengal Asiatic*

Society's Journal, Vol. XIV, Plate 24. General Cunningham believes this to have belonged to the temple of which the pillar formed a part.

Sculptures
from Kāngra.

Sculptures from the Fort, Kāngra, taken from the bed of the Boner river, under the citadel of the Fort, by Colonel H. Young.

From Peshāwar.

Fragments from the Charsada Mount, near Peshāwar, believed by General Cunningham to be Penchealotis, the ancient capital of Gandhara, excavated by Lieutenant Martin, R. E.

Kalanaur.

Decorated marble canopy of a *mahrab* (arch) from the tomb of Jamil Beg at Kalanaur (Gurdāspur District), presented by the Archæological Surveyor of the Panjāb.

Eusafzai.

Sculptures from a mound near the village Mahomed Nāri, in Eusafzai, found and presented by Mr. Dempster, C. E., Executive Engineer, Swat Canal.

In one of the foregoing sculptures, Buddha is seated on the lotus, with royal figures on each side. One of the mutilated reliefs in the arch above represents him leaving his palace by night, mounted on his horse Chanda, while in the other he is seen rising from his couch. Below is a row of eight Buddhas.

Adoration
of Buddha.

This sculpture is remarkable for its almost perfect condition, its elaborate execution and the similiarity of its motive to that of many works of Christian art. Buddha is seated on a lotus rising from the waters. A wreath is held over his head by winged cherubs, above this is an umbrella, a heavenly host surrounding the central figure.

Indian
Arms.

Entering, now, the art and manufacture division to the left, the visitor will find specimens of Indian arms hung against the western wall of the central aisle. Most interesting among these is a group of arms found when cleaning the Kaulsar tank, Amritsar, presented by the Municipal Committee, Amritsar, through the energetic Secretary, Mr. E. Nicholl. North and south of the hall are hung between the arches portraits of princes and chiefs of the Panjāb during the reign of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, by native artists, and large sheets of printed cloths from Kapurthala, Jammu and Kamalia. The place last named is noted in the Panjāb for excel-

Printed
cloth work.

lent printed cloth work. The printing is done with wooden blocks, the dyes being indigenous in almost all cases.

Copper
ware.

In a glass almirah, close to the entrance hall, are arranged specimens of copper ware, engraved and tinned, from Peshawar;

Kashmír copper utensils, enamelled and gilded ; Baháwalpur enamel work ; copper tea set, of Kangri pattern, manufactured at Kashmír, but electro-plated in England, and a spherical brass lamp from Amritsar. The lamp is so contrived that the oil reservoir inside is always upright. There are also brass padlocks from Jhang, Ropar and Amballa, and a brass *Ganga Sagar*, in the shape of an elephant, from Tanda in the Hushiarpur district.

In another almirah, close to the above is arranged a collection of arms. Most interesting among these is a quiver (*tarkash*), with arm-guard, formerly in use in the Panjáb, presented by the Panjáb Government ; daggers of Siabposh Kafars, from the Mehtar of Chitral, presented by Colonel Waterfield, late Commissioner of Pesháwar ; *gokhru*, used by the Sikhs to impede the advance of cavalry and identified with the " Caltrap" of mediæval warfare in Europe ; and a *Bichwa*. The most striking peculiarity of the weapon last named is that small pearls are set loosely in the blade. There are also sword sticks ; hunting belts with pouches, and shot and powder flasks ; flints and steel arms from Dera Gházi Khán ; the head-dress of *Akáli* or *Nihang* Sikhs, and a pistol found after the battle of Thal, presented by Mr. S. Lemmon.

Indian and
Central Asian
Arms.

There are specimens of different sorts of perforated, engraved and chased brass ware from Kashmír, Amritsar, Pesháwar, Baháwalpur, Karnal, Kángra and Delhi.

BRASS-WARE.

The case next to the above contains articles of old brass ware connected with Hindu worship, lent by J. L. Kipling Esq., C. I. E.

In a round glass case are specimens of sham jewelry ; in a flat case samples of inlaid and carved ivory boxes and a very handsome ivory box from China. At Hoshiarpur is practised the work of inlaying dark wood with ivory which is very similar to the Certosena work of Italy. At Saharanpur and Simla carving on white wood, copied generally from European patterns, is done. Good specimens of ivory carving from Amritsar and Patiala also exist.

Ivory work.

There is a beautiful collection of the pictures of the Delhi Emperors and the Royal ladies on ivory, of historical portraits, views, &c. The miniature work of Delhi is a revival of the painting in water-colors practised by the Persians, from whom the Delhi artists claim their descent. The Persian limning was encouraged by the Moghal sovereigns and has been frequently mentioned by early European travellers. There are also pieces of embossed ornamental work in paper, produced by the finger-nail.

Miniatures
on ivory.

Embossed
nail work.

Lac turnery
and wood car-
ving.

In a four sided case the lac turnery of Hoshiarpur, Sháhpur, Dera Ismail Khán, Pak Pattan, Kasur and Firozpur is nicely arranged ; with specimens of wood carving from Saháranpur, Patiala and Amballa are also shown in the same case. The most striking object among these is specimen of an ancient carving, believed to be of the time of the Emperor Humayún, with quotations from the Qurán cut in relief on shisham wood. It was brought to Lahore for the late Nur Ahmad, *Chishti*. On the uppermost shelf is an inlaid box presented by Rai Kanhya Lal, late Executive Engineer of Lahore. In a wall almirah are nicely arranged specimens of the ivory carving of the Province. Noticeable among these is a *hugqa* and *necha* in colored ivory, from Delhi, and perforated combs, paper-cutters and card-cases, ornamented with geometrical patterns, from Amritsar. The work shows great delicacy of execution, and the art, which probably originated with the Sikhs, is practised at Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi and in some other parts of the Panjáb.

Papier-
mache and
painted wood.

Next to the above are specimens of papier-mache, *kalamdars* (pen-cases) and small articles made in Kashmír and painted in water colour, preserved subsequently by varnish.

The sceptre
of longevity.

In a large glass case are samples of jade ornaments, cups, &c. Peculiar among these is an article called *Joee*, sceptre of longevity (literally, as "you wish"), often given at Chinese marriages and to friends for good luck, frequently represented in the hand of the god of longevity.

Writing on
birch-bark.

In the case containing these articles, there is a curious specimen of ancient writing on leaf. It is a birch-bark book from Kashmír, the *Pushtak* of Raghobans and Komar Samho, with key, apparently a preservation of the times before the invention of paper. The palm leaf was the chief writing material in ancient and mediæval India. In Kashmir birch-bark was in extensive use, and to this day some of the Hindu merchants in Simla use it for their account books.*

Specimen
of manufac-
tures.

The specimens of the manufactures of the Province are represented by a great variety. There are specimens of silk plaids and *Lungis* from Baháwalpur and Multán ; also different sorts of *huggas*,

* From the inscriptions on rocks, pillars and copper plates, the Indian Alphabet is traced to the third century before Christ. It is much to be doubted whether an independent Indian Alphabet ever existed, for of the two characters in which the inscriptions of Asoka (250 A. D.) are written, the Ariano-Pali, or northern dialect, has been traced to Phœnician, while the Indo-Pali, or southern variety, is believed to be of Western origin.

opium pipes and snuff boxes ; samples of *Pattú* work ; a variety of staffs and sticks ; specimens of embroidery work from Hissar and Chamba ; of fine and embroidery on muslin, anti-macassars, embroidered net work from Delhi ; cotton and silk Lungis with gold edgings ; square embroidered shawls ; *Phulkari* work ; specimens of Panjáb cotton prints ; women's dresses with the pattern stamped on with lac or colour, &c., from the Bannu District ; and *Pardas*, or curtains, lac printed, from Pesháwar.

The *Phulkari* is a flowered or brodered silk work on plain cloth, or *chaddar*. It is done by women of nearly all classes, and the flowers are wrought on country cotton cloth, dyed in various shades and colors, lac, red, orange, green, gold, black and yellow. There is a *Phulkari* work of small circular looking glasses sewn on to the texture which gives the pattern a fantastic effect. The forms or decorations consist of diapers, zig-zags, herring bones and chequers. Cloth *Phulkari* work is mostly worn by zemindar women who employ their leisure hours in this work, applying it to their garments, drawers, petticoats and bodices. The *Phulkari* work.

There is a collection of Thibetan curiosities, such as prayer wheels, prayer bell, blocks for printing prayers and cloth, Budhist Lama's pen-case, images from the ashes of a deceased Lama, a Lama's cymbals and spikes, used by the *jogis* for self-torment, presented by Doctor G. W. Leitner. Thibetan curiosities.

On a large table are beautifully arranged models of a Hindu temple at Kapurthala ; of the Royal Mosque, Lahore ; Edwardes' Gate, Pesháwar, half an inch to one foot : the Amritsar clock tower and a *Baradari* at Gujranwala. Wooden models of noted buildings.

In the aisle to the south are the manufactures of the Panjáb for sale. These are not to be commonly had in the bazar, and consist of copper wares from Kashmír and Pesháwar ; brass wares from Pind Dadan Khán ; papier-mache from Kashmír ; *Kheses* from Leia ; Hoshiarpur ivory inlaid work ; Lahore pottery ; Bhera daggers ; cotton prints of all sorts, &c. Manufactures for sale.

The musical instruments are pretty completely represented. They are of various forms and sizes and represent various tastes and designs. Many attract attention for peculiarity of style and elegance of decoration. For instance, the *Taus* is shaped and painted like a peacock. There are various forms of *Sitar*, or lute, with strings of Musical Instruments.

steel or brass, which are shifted by the performer according to the melody he has to play. There are the *Bín* played with the finger, the *Robab*, a mandolin-shaped instrument, the *Kanún*, or harp, a stringed instrument, the *Saringi*, or fiddle, the *Tambura*, or Eastern guitar, the *Tabla*, or small drums, kettledrums and a variety of horns, shells, &c. The musical instruments of the Panjáb are all of old traditional form, and the science of music, as known to the Indians, is on the decline in the Panjáb, as, indeed, is the case everywhere else in India.

Cotton
manufac-
tures.

There are also cotton manufactures; Lungis from Ludhiana and Sháhpur; *Kheses* worn by Patháns; *Alwans*, or *Salus*; knot-dyed cloth from Isa Kheyl, Parganna Bannu; cloth painted in linseed oil and colour, popularly known as Afridi lac cloth, Pesháwar; and *Susis* and *Kheses* with silk borders.

Woollen
manufac-
tures.

Under the head of Panjáb woollen manufactures are Kashmir *Pashm* thread; Wahabshahi wool thread, Amritsar; Rampur wool thread; patterns of blankets, all sorts; Cabuli *Pashm* threads; embroidery on Pashmina; shawl borders, embroidered; *Pattús*, *Lois*, blankets and carpets.

Silk manu-
factures.

On another screen, are specimens of Panjáb silk manufactures, namely, *Lungis*, handkerchiefs, *Susis*, *Gulbadan*, *Kánni*, *Dopattas*, *Daryai*, raw silks, silk cocoons, *Bagh Kikri*, *Sawan Bhaddon* (Chakwal) *Kandi Bagh*, *Gulab*, *Phulkari* and *Dal* work.

Pottery
work.

Pottery is fairly represented. There are specimens of Delhi, Multán and Bombay pottery. In the same collection there is a very good specimen of glazed Persian tile, probably belonging to the end of the seventeenth century, lent by Colonel Sir Oliver St. John.

Glazed tiles.

R. E., K. C. S. I. There are glazed pottery from Pesháwar; glazed tiles from Muzaffargarh, Multán and Sindh; thin paper-like bowls, goblets (*Surahis*) from Gujránwala and unglazed earthen wares from Hoshiarpur, &c.

Terra-cotta
busts.

On a stand near the pottery are terra-cotta busts of Jawahir Singh *Mistri*, Lahore Museum, and Bahadur, lac turner of Pak Pattan, Montgomery District, by J. L. Kipling, Esq., and specimens of Danish pottery presented by B. H. B.-Powell, Esq.

Foreign
trade articles.

Among the foreign trade articles are specimens of Russian *Kamkhab* and silk manufactures sold in the bazars of Bokhára and Samarkand.

Coming, now, to the aisle on the north, we see a large collection of ancient Buddhist sculptures which form the chief treasure of the Museum.*

Buddhist
sculptures.

In a glass almirah, there is an electro type *fac simile* of a silver paten, formerly an heir-loom in the family of the Mirs of Badakshan, who claim to be the descendants of Alexander the Great, sold by them to Atma Ram, Diwan Begi of Mir Morad Beg of Kunduz. The subject represented is a procession of Dionysos (Bacchus). Also an electro type *fac simile* of a Buddhist relic casket in beaten gold, studded with rubies, found in tope No. 2 of Bimaran in the Cabul valley, by Mr. Masson, in 1839; described and figured in Wilson's *Asiana Antiqua*, 1841, and in Mrs. Spier's *Life in Ancient India*, 1856, and in Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, 1880. The original belongs to the Library of the India Office, London.

A representation of the procession of Dionysos.

The simile of Buddhist relic.

In a glass stand, close to the above, are earthen toys found on the floors of rooms in the Shahri Bahlol Monastery; two stone *cherraghs*, or lamps, found in the same place, while clearing the city of Bahlol. There are also brazen vessels found near Samalkhand in the Gandgarh Mountain, Hazara District.

Ancient relics of Shahri Bahlol.

In the same aisle there is a collection of plaster sculptures from Rokri in the Miánwáli Parganna of the Bannú District. Among these are eight heads of Buddha, ten heads of laymen, one large centre of Acanthus capital; one volute of a large capital, two dentils, one with ve. million in the hollows; five lion's heads; four small figures and one four-armed boy holding a dish.

Plaster sculptures from Rokri.

During the floods of 1868, the Indus made a sweep to the eastward, a few miles above Miánwáli, and cut away a part of the old high bank on which stands the small town of Rokri. When the river subsided, numbers of plaster figures and concrete mouldings were found at the foot of two concentric circular walls which had been laid bare.† The remains were carefully collected by Mr. Priestly, and presented by him to the Lahore Museum. During excavations made in the adjoining mound and amongst the houses of the town, numerous mouldings in kankar and concrete were discovered, with many old bricks and also coins of Wema, Kadphises, Kanishka, Samanta Deva and Vásu Devá. These, in

* A description of the principal Buddhist sculptures is given at the end of this chapter.

† An account of the site of the ruins now partly washed away by the Indus was published in the *Panjab Gazette* for 1868-69.

General Cunningham's opinion, serve to show that the site must have been in continued occupation from the time of the Indo-Scythians.

Fragments
in plaster of
Paris from
Sháh ki
Dheri.

There are also fragments in plaster of Paris from *Sháh ki Dheri*, "the mounds of the kings," near Kálá Serai, Rawalpindi District. No buildings exist above ground; but the remains found in digging show that here was once a large city, supposed to be the ancient Taxila. The plaster figures much resemble those from Kokri on the Indus, and were originally coloured.

Relics of
prehistoric
age.

Of the relics of pre-historic age, the Museum now possesses a tolerably good collection comprising ancient stone implements, mostly from Central India, presented by General Cunningham; coves from a place near Bándá; pounding stones; chopping stones; chipped celts, scrapers; rubbed celts; round celts from Bándá, Hamirpur, Rewáh, Jodhpur, &c.; hammer stones and polished porphyry celts from Swát, finely finished. These fragments of pre-historic times, in their workmanship and design, have a common resemblance to similar remains found in England and Europe generally, and, in fact, all over the world, showing that, though widely separated by position, mankind everywhere had originally the same instinct as to food and the mode of acquiring it and that the same affinity was displayed in their habits of life.

Raw
products. pro-

On the right of the entrance hall are collections of the raw products of the country, vegetable, mineral and animal. These consist of specimens of iron, mostly from Bájour, north of Pesháwar; antimony, the product of black ore, a tin sulphide, called *Surma*; lead from various places in the hills; copper found in the ores of the Gurgaon and Hissar Districts; coal of various kinds, found near Kálá Bagh in the Suleman Range, to the west of Dera Gházi Khán, and the Salt Range, near Pind Dadan Khán; rock salt found in immense quantities in the Salt Range between the Jhelum and the Indus and the hills adjoining Trans-Indus; saltpetre; alum manufactured at Kálá Bagh and Kalki; specimens of building stones; gypsum found in the Himalayas and the Salt Range, so extensively used for the plastic art during the Buddhist period, and specimens of wood of various kinds grown in the Panjáb.

Cobra and
reptiles.

Among the reptiles is a large collection of snakes, scorpions, crocodile, lizards, long-nosed alligator (*garial*) and the snub-nosed alligator (*maggar*). There is also a beautiful collection of birds and butterflies preserved in glass cases. Specimens of cotton and

Birds.

silk and a great variety of fibre from various plants are also exhibited.*

In the centre of the middle hall are ancient stone monuments of much interest. Among these is a portion of plaster ancient Jain sculpture built into the walls of a mosque at Barwála, 18 miles north-east of Hissar and inscribed on the back by Sultán Ghias-ud-dín Balban A. H. 680 (A. D. 1281). The mosque was subsequently destroyed and the pillar was found in a well, by C. J. Rodgers, Esq., late Archæological Surveyor. Jain sculptures.

A large collection of Jain sculptures found in Murti, in the vicinity of Choya Sedan Sháh, in the Jhelum District, is lying on tables on the same side.

Prominent among the sculptures in this hall is an ancient Hindu (?) pillar dug up near the Jhelum, in the vicinity of an ancient drinking fountain, presented by Lieutenant-Colonel Bristow, late Deputy Commissioner, Jhelum. There is also an ancient Jain sculpture, built into the wall of the guest house of the tomb of Syad Namatullah, Hansi fort, and some other Jain monuments, also a Bactrian Páli inscription on a stone from Takht-i-Bai, near Pesháwar, translated by Professor Dowson thus :— A Hindu pillar.
A Bactrian Páli inscription.

“In the 26th year of the great king Gondophares (and) on the 3rd day of the month Waisákha (year) one hundred of the Samvatsára.” (If the Samvat of Vikramaditia is meant, the date is the 14th April, A. D. 56).

In an upright glass case are clay models of Indian fruits and vegetables executed by a native artist, Bhewani, of Amballa Cantonment, and next to this is a similar collection of English manufacture, presented by Sutton & Co., of London. Models of Indian fruits and vegetables.

One of the most remarkable objects in the Museum is the model illustrating the agriculture of the Panjáb, representing the Ját Zemindars ploughing the field with their oxen and performing other agricultural operations. The figures have been made after life-size patterns under the supervision of J. L. Kipling, Esq., Principal, Lahore Mayo School of Arts. Model of Panjáb agriculture.

A collection of horns and heads of animals from various parts of the country is grouped on the end wall of the western Horns and heads of animals.

* For more complete information on the subject, the reader is referred to Mr. Baden Powell's “*Hand-book of the Products of the Panjáb*”

door, each description being labelled with its scientific English and vernacular name.

The following objects of ancient interest in the Museum also deserve mention :—

- Relics of Roman period.** Sculptures recovered from Karámár Hill, near Pesháwar, which are undoubtedly executed after classic models, probably of the late Roman period.
- Sculptures from Ahib Post Tope.** Fragments of sculpture, mostly in plaster of Paris, found in Ahib Post Tope at Jallalabad, presented by Mr. Simpson, correspondent of the *Illustrated London News* during the military operations in Northern Afghanistan.
- Silver Sassanian coins.** Silver Sassanian coins, found in the Kángra District, and fragments of Ionic columns, excavated at *Sháh ki Dheri*.
- Coins of Hindu period.** Hemi-drachmas of Appollodotus, with silver coins of a novel kind, discovered in a field in Jwálá Mukhí, in the Kángra District; some hemi-drachmas of Amyntos, Antialkodes, Menander and others found in Sonapat in the Delhi District; and coins of Menander and Appollodotus, &c., found in a ravine near Ráwalpindi.
- Ring stones.** The Ara ruins in the Bannú District yielded, in 1871-72, two engraved light ring-stones, one a figure on red cornelian, the other apparently an inscription on a small piece of rock crystal.
- More Græco-Buddhist sculptures.** Some Græco-Buddhist sculptures were found by Captain Hunter of the Guide Corps, in 1871-72, among the ruins of a monastery near the village of Swalda in Yusufzaie. The sculptures are fragmentary, some purely of architectural ornament, others figures in relief illustrating events of mythology or religious history, and a few are detached figures or statutes.
- Hindu and Bactrian coins.** Hindu coins, probably of Sawanáshtira period, dug up in a field near Bulandpur, Pesháwar District, also some coins of the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian period, found close to the city of Sialkot.
- Sculptured heads from Sháh ki Dheri.** An interesting series of seventeen portions of figures and sculptured heads, accompanied by an excellent photograph of groups received from *Sháh ki Dheri*, in the Ráwalpindi District, where there are extensive remains of an old town (supposed by Cunningham to be ancient Taxila); also two stone figures of Buddha, one in standing posture and one seated, of the same grey, compact schistose slate as the Pesháwar sculptures.

Gold Indo-Scythic coins dug up near Patiala in 1868-69, and presented by His Highness the Mahārāja.

Gold Indo-Scythian coins.

A silver coin of Sophytes, a medal of Eucratides, of a rare description, bearing on the reverse the heads of Heliocles and Laodice, and a silver coin bearing the name "Seleukos," believed to be novel.

Do. silver coins.

A stone pillar surmounted by a colossal human head in sculpture, dug up, in 1866-67, near *Sháh ki Dheri* in the Ráwalpindi District.

An old stone pillar.

Some interesting sculptures from Amb in the Sháhpur District, and some sculptured fragments of the Hindu period, which were found in the vicinity of Kythal, Thanesar, and Agroha, were added to the Museum collection in 1888-89.

Sculptures from Amb and Thanesar.

Towards the close of 1889, some interesting Buddhist ruins were discovered by the Assistant Commissioner, at Mardán, at a place called Sikri, not far from the village Sawaldhar, and at the foot of the hill on the spur of which the Jamálgarhi ruins stand. The most interesting sculpture that has been sent to the Lahore Museum is a sitting figure of Buddha, representing him after his feast. It is a very fine piece of sculpture, and from its style appears to be very old.

Buddhist sculptures.

During the same year a slab of stone was sent to the Museum from the *Sidghir ki Haveli*; at Pehoa, in the Karnál District. From the inscription on the stone, which is in a perfect state of preservation, Sir H. Cunningham assigns it to the end of the 11th century of the Christian era.

Ancient slab of stone from Pehoa in Karnál district.

THE BUDDHIST SCULPTURES IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

The most valuable possessions of the Museum and these which form the chief objects of interest to the antiquarian, and of attraction to the curious visitor, are the sepulchral monuments and remains from Eusufzaie, in the Pesháwar District, arranged in the aisle to the left. In order to understand clearly the period of Indian history to which these relics of antiquity presumably belong, it is necessary to give here a brief sketch of the early history of the country of their origin, the Panjáb.

When, in ages bygone, the people of that noble race the Arya, starting from their common camping ground in Central Asia, migrated to the countries to the east and west, rearing cities and founding kingdoms, one of their eastern offshoots advanced to the

The Aryan migration.

defiles of Khyber in Cabul. The earliest songs of the *Rigveda* show us the Indian branch to the north of these defiles. One of their earliest settlements was *Brahmna Varta*, or the holy land, between the sacred rivers Sarsuti, in Thanesar, and Ghaggar in the Ambala District. Their settlements by degrees extended to the five rivers of the Panjáb, and the Vedic hymns are loud in praise of the Indus, 'the far-famed bestower of wealth.' They composed the hymns in their colonies along the Indus and on their march from the country of the five rivers to the east. The period of their great migration is not known; but European scholars have inferred from astronomical data that it must have been about 2200 years before the birth of Christ. In the course of time priestly families were formed and the four great Hindu castes developed, namely, the *Brahmins* (the priests grown out of the families of Rishis who composed the Vedic songs, or who conducted the great tribal sacrifices), the *Shatrias* (the warriors and king's companions), the *Vaisyas* (the husbandmen or agriculturists) and the *Sudras* (the servile classes, the remnants of the vanquished aboriginal races).

The Brahman supremacy established.

A hard contest between the priestly and warrior castes then followed, ending in the final establishment of Brahman supremacy. The Brahmans claimed for themselves divinely inspired knowledge, and their special domains were religion, theology and philosophy. The outgrowth of their literature is the celebrated code of Manu, intended as a manual of guidance for the Rájás.

The Aryans migrate to the regions of the Ganges.

By the end of sixth century, the Aryan tribes, had pushed on beyond the classical rivers of the Panjáb. An age of philosophers, commentators and grammarians followed that of literature and poets; the worship of nature developed into the worship of new divinities, and, though the priestly and sacrificial office was strictly confined to the Brahmans, they were not the exclusive inheritors of secular knowledge. Ascetics, invested with the odour of sanctity, had sprung up from other castes, and among these were travelling logicians, solitary hermits, monks and anchorites, who, each in his turn, sought to solve the mysteries of life. It was about this time that Goutama, afterwards called Budha, or the "enlightened," was born to Saddhodana, Rája of Kapilavasta, a settlement of the Sakyas, a clan of the Aryans, on the banks of the river

Birth of Buddha.

Kohána, about 100 miles north-east of the city of Benaras. He was born in 622 B. C., and became the founder of a religion which is accepted by 500 millions of the human race, or more than one-third of the population of the globe. Budha abolished the system of caste within the pale of his order. The essential doctrine of his religion was that the road to Nirvana, or the highest stage of happiness, was open to the lowest outcast, as it was to the proudest "twice-born," and that every man had the capacity in this life of attaining that eternal bliss which leads to salvation.

Long before the invasion of Alexander, hordes of Scythians, considered by General Cunningham, of Turanian origin, starting from Central Asia, poured into the Panjáb through the north-western passes of the Himálayas. According to Dr. Hunter, there are indications that a branch of these Scythians, having overrun Asia about 625 B. C., made its way to Batala, on the Indus, long the capital of Scindh, under the name of Hydrabad. The Játs of the present day, identified with the Getae, who form one-fifth of the population of the Panjáb, are believed to be the descendants of the ancient Scythians. They founded the famous city of Taxila, identified by General Cunningham with *Sháh ki Dheri*, east of the Indus.

Scythian
invasion.

Origin of
Játs of the
Panjáb.

When Alexander entered the Panjáb, early in 327 B. C., he found Taxila a rich and populous city, the largest between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jhelum). The conqueror had reached the Hyphasis (Beas) when he was compelled by the clamour of his troops to retrace his steps to his country. In the partition of the empire which followed his death in 323 B. C., Bactria and the Panjáb fell to the share of his General Seleucus Nikator. About this time, a new power arose in India. Chandra Gupta, an exile from the Gangetic valley, who had accompanied Alexander's camp in the Panjáb as an adventurer, but who had to fly from it, having had the temerity to give the Macedonian monarch some personal offence for which he nearly paid with his life, having gathered around him the tribes of the Panjáb, usurped the throne of Magadha (Behár). He expelled the Greek garrison from the Panjáb and compelled the Panjáb principalities, Greek and native alike, to acknowledge his sway. Seleucus crossed the Sutlej and gained several victories over his Indian adversary, but, being suddenly recalled to defend his own territories, he concluded peace with the Indian monarch, to whom he ceded the Panjáb as far as Pesháwar.

Alexander,
327 B. C.

Chandra
Gupta.

Neither Chandra Gupta nor his son Bindusára was a follower of Buddha; but the third of the race, Piadási, better known under

Asoka.

his Pali name of Asoka, became a zealous supporter of that religion. He founded monasteries and pagodas, and provided monks with the necessities of life. He laid out gardens for public recreation and entertainment, established hospitals for men and beasts, and published edicts throughout his empire enjoining on all his subjects the great necessity of leading a pious and useful life. His edicts, engraven in Prakrit dialects, are found on pillars and rocks, from the confines of Pesháwar to Delhi, Allahabad, Behar and Orissa, and stand to this day, noble monuments of a lofty spirit of tolerance and righteousness.

His rock edicts.

The latter Turanian invasion of the Panjáb.

Then followed an age of Indian heroes, who, in the first century before and after Christ, drove back a torrent of Scythian invasion, called by General Cunningham the later *Turanian* invasion. Foremost among these was Vikramaditya, the celebrated king of Ujjain, who successfully checked the progress of the northern hosts. He expelled the Scythian princes from the Panjáb, and his era (B. C. 56) was founded in honor of a great victory gained by him over the barbarians, which completed his conquest of the entire peninsula of Hindustán. On his death, however, the whole empire fell to pieces, and a fresh horde of the Scythians overran the Panjáb about 20 B. C. founding a new dynasty of kings, bearing the name of Kadphises. This dynasty, after reigning throughout the first century of the Christian era, was overthrown by a fresh swarm of the Scythians, under the Kanerki kings. These were followed in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, by the Sassanian kings disseminated by the white Huns and little Uchi, who successively held the Cabul valley. This period extended down to 700 A. D. a short time before the conquest of Scindh and Multán by the Muhammadans in 711 A. D. The Sassanian dynasty in Cabul was succeeded by the Hindu kings, who were subverted by Sabuktagin, the Tartar. When the Chinese traveller, Fáhian, visited the Panjáb early in the fifth century, he found Buddhism prevalent in that country, and when, latterly (630–640 A. D.), the country was visited by another Chinese pilgrim, Hieuen Tsang, Buddhism was the State religion, though Brahmans abounded.

The Sassanian Kings.

The Chinese travellers.

Summary.

It would appear from the above summary that, before the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, it had been successively held by several dynasties and nationalities in the following order:—

- 1.—Scythian, or early Turanian period, from 625 to 250 B.C.
- 2.—Indo-Grecian period, from 250 to 57 B. C.
- 3.—Indo-Scythian or later Turanian period, from 57 B. C. to 230 A. D.

- 4.—Indo Sassanian period, from 320 to 700 A. D.
- 5.—Mediæval Brahmanic period, from 700 to 1200 A. D.
- 6.—Modern Brahmanic period, from 1200 to 1750 A. D.

The first is also called by some scholars the Græco-Bactrian period, for it ended with the establishment of an independent Greek monarchy in the Cabul valley. It was at this period that the rude workmen of India were first brought into contact with the artists of Greece.

To the second period is due the Greek influence on the sculptural art of North-western India, which gave the first impulse to architectural exigencies. To this period belong the lion pillars, with their bands of honey-suckle and beaded mouldings, able imitations of Greek design and fine specimens of Indian art.

To the third or Indo-Scythian period, according to General Cunningham, belong most of the Buddhist and Jain sculptures and pillars which have been exhumed from the ruined cities in the Yusufzai sub-division of the Pesháwar District. These are the monuments which at present enrich the Lahore Museum. The faces and profiles carved in soft micaceous sandstone, though not the work of Greek artists themselves, are all, in their detail and character, Greek. They almost all refer to Buddha, representing him as a sage, a king, a hermit, a recluse, a teacher, a mendicant, or describing some incident of his life. The simplicity and faithfulness with which the human form is delineated, and the spirit, freedom and variety displayed in the design, present a strong contrast to the normal style of Hindu sculpture. The essential difference to be observed is in the purity and vitality of the style and the accuracy and truth with which the details are rendered. The scenes of actual life and living movements are portrayed with fidelity to nature, and exhibit no mean dramatic power on the part of the artists.

The Greek type, which is most strongly marked in the ancient statuary of the Panjáb and Cabul, where the Greeks settled in the greatest force, begins to fade as we proceed eastward, and it gradually gave way before the influence of Sassanian models.

The fourth, or Indo-Sassanian, period is marked by great political changes in Northern India. At the close of the same period the Brahman dynasty of Cabul supplanted the last of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns.

The fifth division belongs to a time when Brahmanical power was revived in India, towards the beginning of the eighth century.

General Cunningham prefers to call it the *Brahminical period*, for, although the religion of Buddha still continued to flourish in several parts of India at this time, yet it had already shown indications of decay. With the change of time is to be observed a corresponding change in the coinage, which under the Brahman princes assumed a special form, its distinguishing features being a humped bull and four-armed goddess. The temples, sculptures and architectural monuments of this period are chiefly illustrative of Brahman mythology.

The sixth, or modern Brahmanic period marks the collapse of the Hindu power through the introduction of the Islamitic faith. Some very fine temples, not unworthy of comparison with the stately structures of the more fortunate Hindu period preceding the Muhammadan conquest, were erected at this time, but they were all destroyed or desecrated by the Muhammadans.

A note by General Cunningham, giving a detailed description of the sculptures, is placed in a conspicuous position in the gallery to the left. The following are extracts from this note:—

“These sculptures were all found in the Province of Pesháwar, the ancient Gandhara, to the west of the Indus. One of the most interesting specimens, the seated king with sceptre in hand, was dug up at Takkal, about five miles to the west of Pesháwar; but the greater number were discovered at different places in the Yusufzai District, to the north-east of Pesháwar, chiefly at Takht-i-Bái, Jamalgarhi, Shahr-i-Bahlol and Nogram.

These sculptures are mostly of the class called *alto-relievo*, the figures being generally complete in the round, excepting those in the background of the groups. Even the single figures of Buddha are also *alto-relievos*, as they have invariably a nimbus or aureola round the head forming the back of the statue, which was always placed against a wall, either in a separate chapel, or between two pilasters on the basement of a stupa.

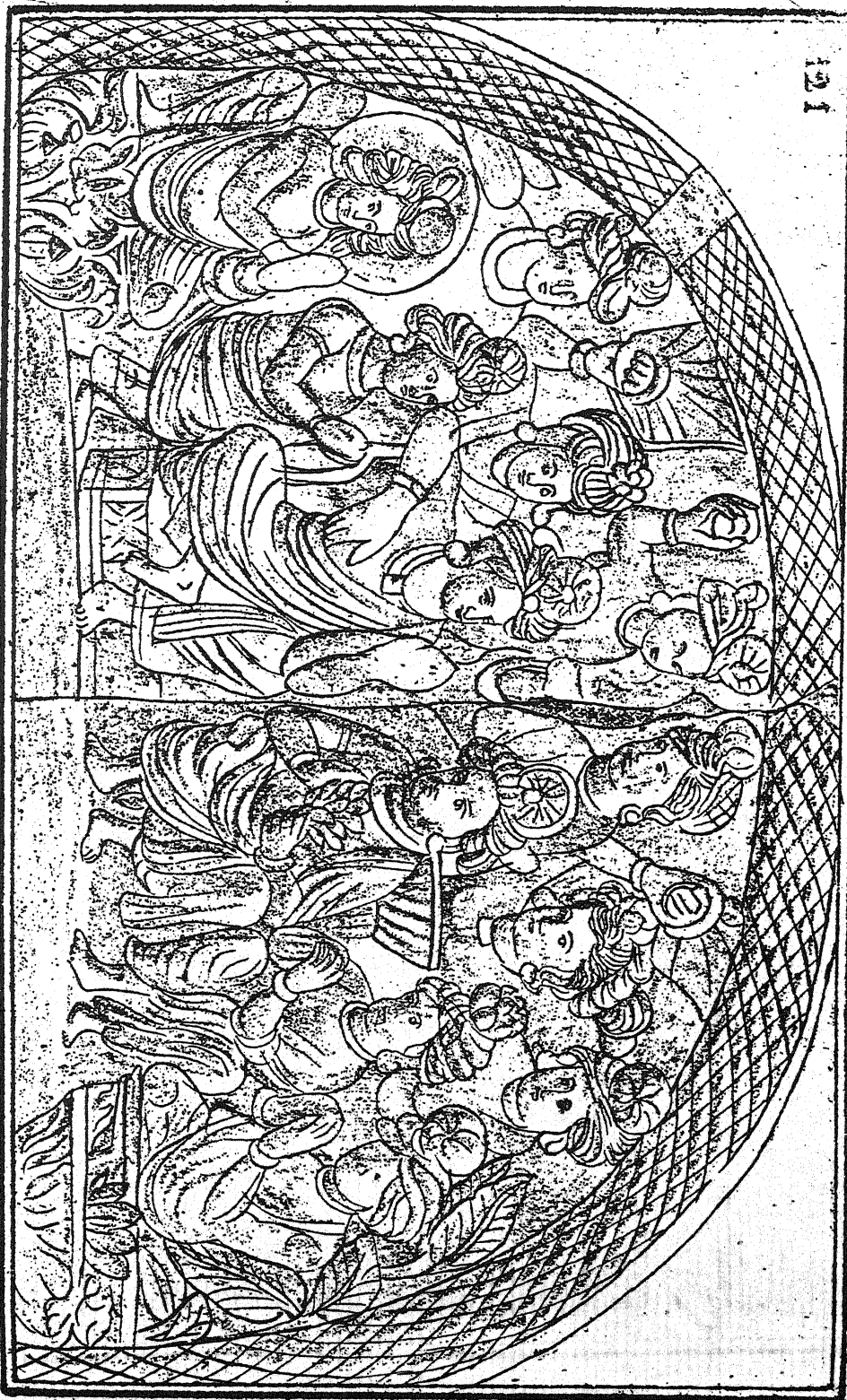
The two principal groups of ruins which have been excavated are those of Takht-i-Bái and Jamalgarhi. The former consists of a stupa surrounded by a square court-yard formed of numerous small chapels, outside which is a second court-yard surrounded by many lofty chapels, which once held colossal figures of Buddha in stucco, with raised terraces in the midst for the assembly of the abbot and monks of the fraternity. Opposite to the stupa there is a monastery with cells; and besides it a number of other buildings, the use of which is not certain. Amongst them there are some subterranean vaults, probably for the stores of grain, and a square court-yard surrounded by a lofty wall with only one small entrance. It has been suggested that this was the place of cremation; but I am inclined to think that it was a place of confinement for refractory monks. In Burmah at least, the bodies of the priests are always burnt in public. Some of the large ruins would appear to have been independent viharas.

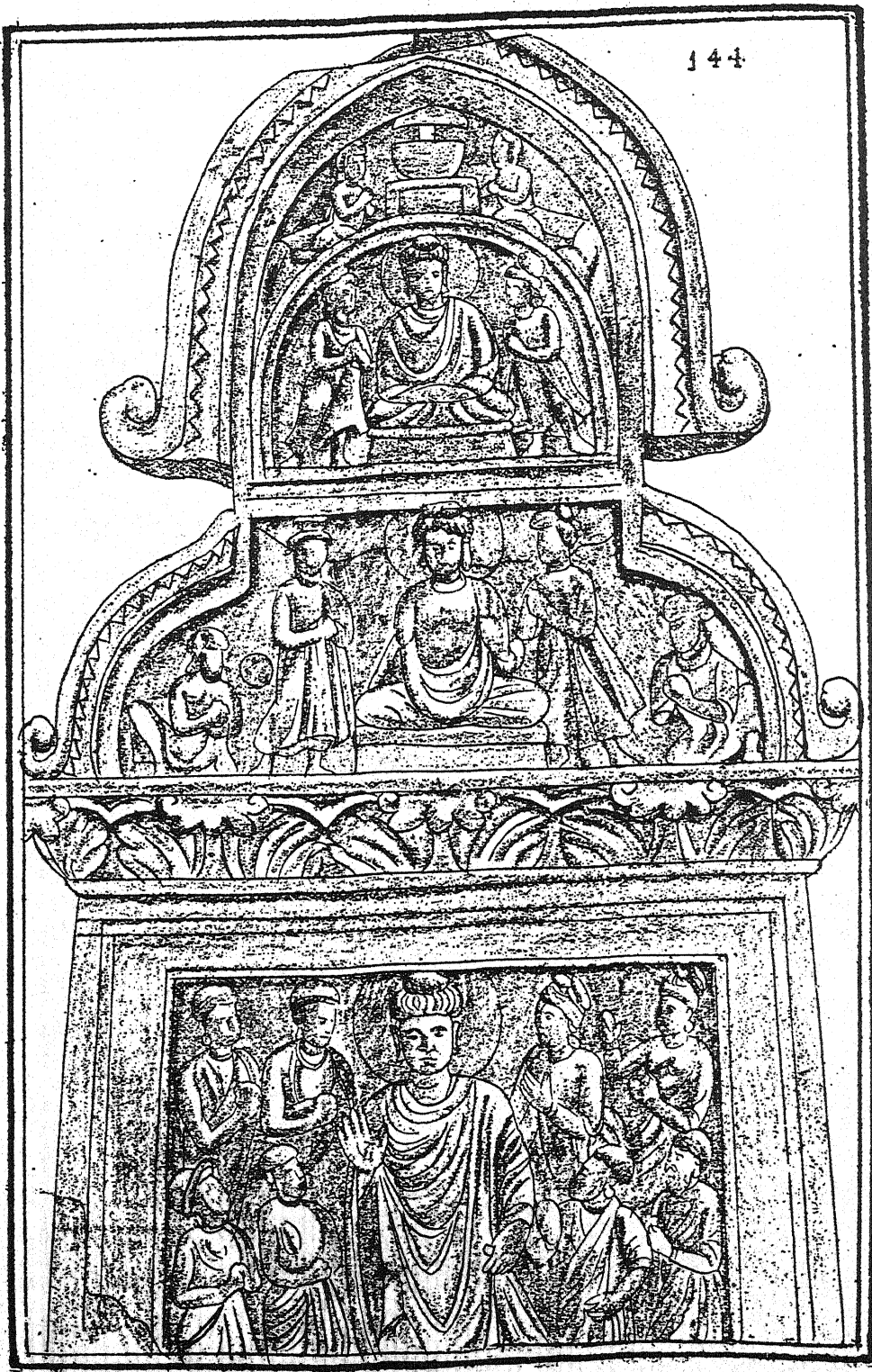
The Jamalgarhi group of ruins consists of a stupa surrounded by a circular court-yard, formed of numerous small chapels of different sizes, with gaps like embrasures between them.

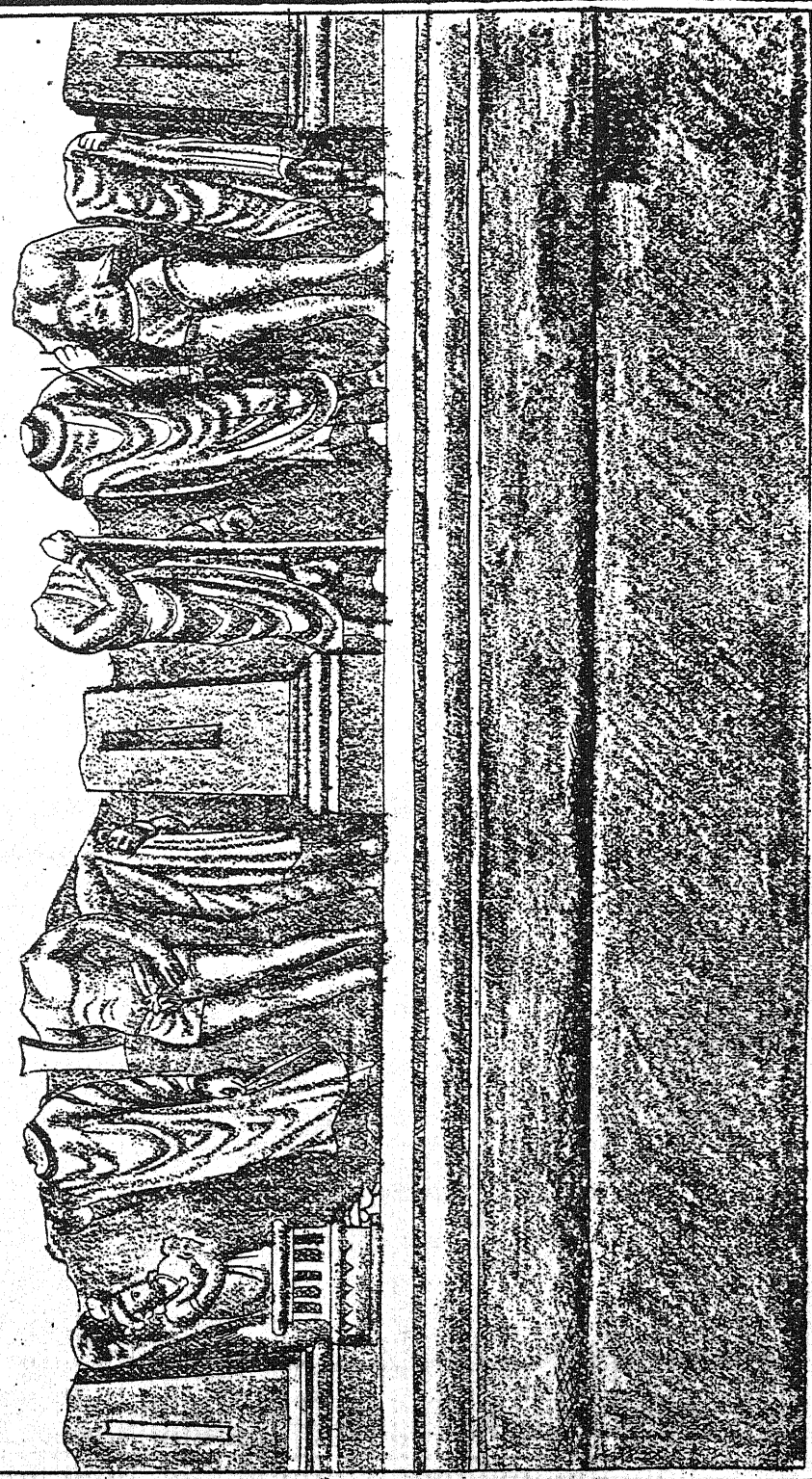
A staircase leads down to a large open space containing many small stupas

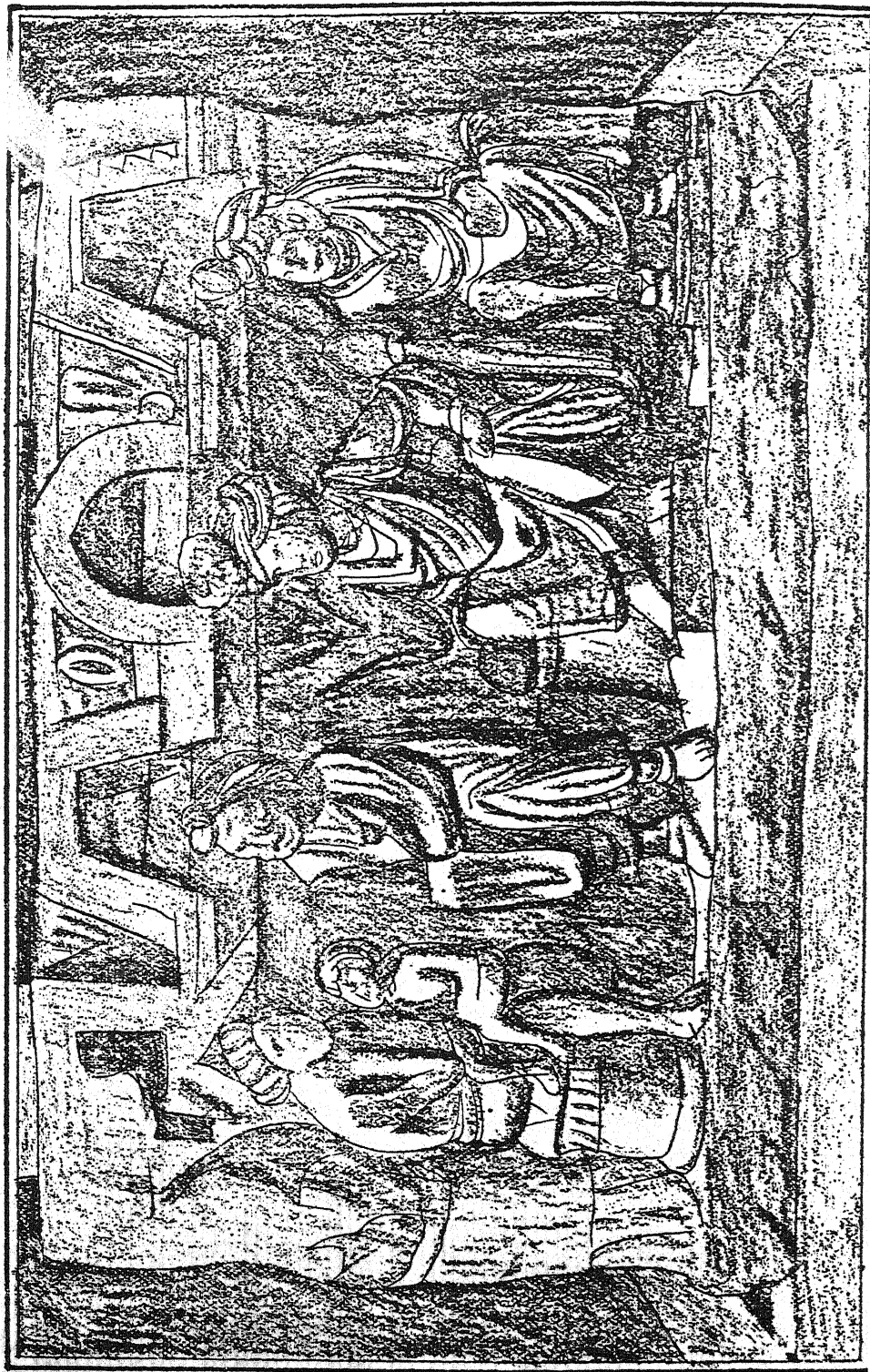
















and cells, beyond which is a monastery and other buildings, the use of which is uncertain.

The great mass of the sculptures has been found in the court-yards of the stupas, in front of the lines of ruined chapels, which they once adorned. I have traced a similar arrangement at Nowgram, Shahr-i-Bahlol and Taxila. I found the ruins of several monasteries and viharas at Shahbazgarhi, near the great inscription of Asoka, which mentions the names of five Greek kings, the last being Alikasandara or Alexander of Eripus.

Of these ancient sites I have identified Shahbazgarhi as the city of Sadatta, whose cave with its two rooms and the square stone seat in front I happily discovered about two miles to the north-east. It is the Palu Sháh of Hawen Tshang, and the hill in which the cave is situated is mount Dautatak of the Chinese pilgrim and the Dadle Montes of Justinus.

Nowgram I have identified with Arnas, as it corresponds with it in all the more essential particulars recorded by the Greeks.

Takht-i-Bái is most probably the great mountain which was situated at 100 li or 17 miles to the north-west of Palu Sháh; and Shahr-i-Bahlol $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of it, I would identify as the site of the monastery of the Kishi Ekasaringa, whose love for a courtesan impelled him to carry her through the town seated on his shoulders.

The date of the buildings may be approximately fixed by the use of Aryan letters, which I have found on many of the sculptures in single character as mason's marks, and in two cases in short inscriptions. Now the use of these characters would appear to have altogether ceased in the second century after Christ, when they were superseded by the pure Indian characters of the Gupta period. I would, therefore, assign the great mass of the Buddhist buildings, and sculptures of Gandhara to the flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule from the conversion of Kanishka, shortly after the middle of the century before Christ, to the middle of the second century after Christ."

The following are extracts from a descriptive list of the principal Buddhist monuments in the Lahore Museum prepared by General Cunningham. The numbers given are those of the descriptive list:—

1.—Standing colossal figure of a king with long hair and moustaches, and a highly ornamented head-dress. The feet are gone, and both arms are broken; but the statue is otherwise in excellent preservation. It was found by Dr. Bellew inside the great monastery at Shahr-i-Bahlol.

3.—Figure of a king sitting on a throne and holding a spear in his left hand. The left foot rests on a footstool. The upper part of the body is naked. The right arm is gone, but the sculpture is otherwise in excellent preservation. The head-dress is richly ornamented. The eyes, which are remarkably prominent, are cut off square. This is perhaps the most striking figure in the Lahore Museum. The design is bold, the attitude free, and the expression dignified.

6.—Standing statue of a king, with the ends of the royal riband floating outwards to the left. The left hand rests on the hip, the lower right arm is gone, but apparently the hand was raised in front in the act of addressing an audience.

21.—Helmeted figure of the Greek goddess Athene, holding a spear in her left hand. The lower right arm, which probably bore the *Ægis* with the head of Medusa, has been lost. The attitude of the goddess is exactly the same as is seen on the coins of the Indo-Scythian Azas.

30.—Buddha, attended by the bearded Deva-datta, who carries a sword as well as his usual staff, is letting loose a snake from his alms-bowl. This is probably the venomous Naga whom Buddha conquered in the cook-room of Uruvilva Kasyapa.

31.—Buddha, seated, addressing a large congregation of laymen. A royal figure standing on the right is presenting a long object to the Master.

56.—Portion of a frieze containing two different scenes divided by a pilaster. To the left Buddha, attended by Deva-datta, nearly naked, is addressing a Naga king, whose serpent tail is concealed by a sort of altar. To the right Buddha, attended again by Deva-datta, is addressing a *Danda-pani* (stick-bearer) or Nirgrantha leader, probably Uruvilva Kasyapa.

58.—A squatted winged figure. Numbers of these figures have been found from 4 to 16 inches in height. They were arranged in rows to support the lowermost moulding of a building. The figures were generally separated by pilasters.

63.—Small panel. Buddha to the left is addressing a prostrate figure before him. On the right a female is coming through a door-way, with a water vessel under her left arm.

74.—UPPER FRIEZE. Buddha seated in meditation, is receiving offerings from six worshippers, three on each side.

LOWER FRIEZE. A series of small niches apparently arranged in groups of three; the middle niche containing a figure of Buddha with a worshipper in each niche to the right and left.

77.—Female sitting on a lion, and playing a 3-stringed lute.

87.—FRAGMENT. Buddha is presenting some broken object to a Naga king under a tree. The serpent tail of the Naga is, as usual, concealed in an altar above which the human body rises.

90.—Buddha seated, with two figures on each side presenting bowls. General Cunningham believes that this scene represents the "four kings" presenting precious bowls to Buddha after his attainment of Buddhahood.

93.—Buddha, seated, teaching. On the left a female approaches, carrying a tall vessel as an offering.

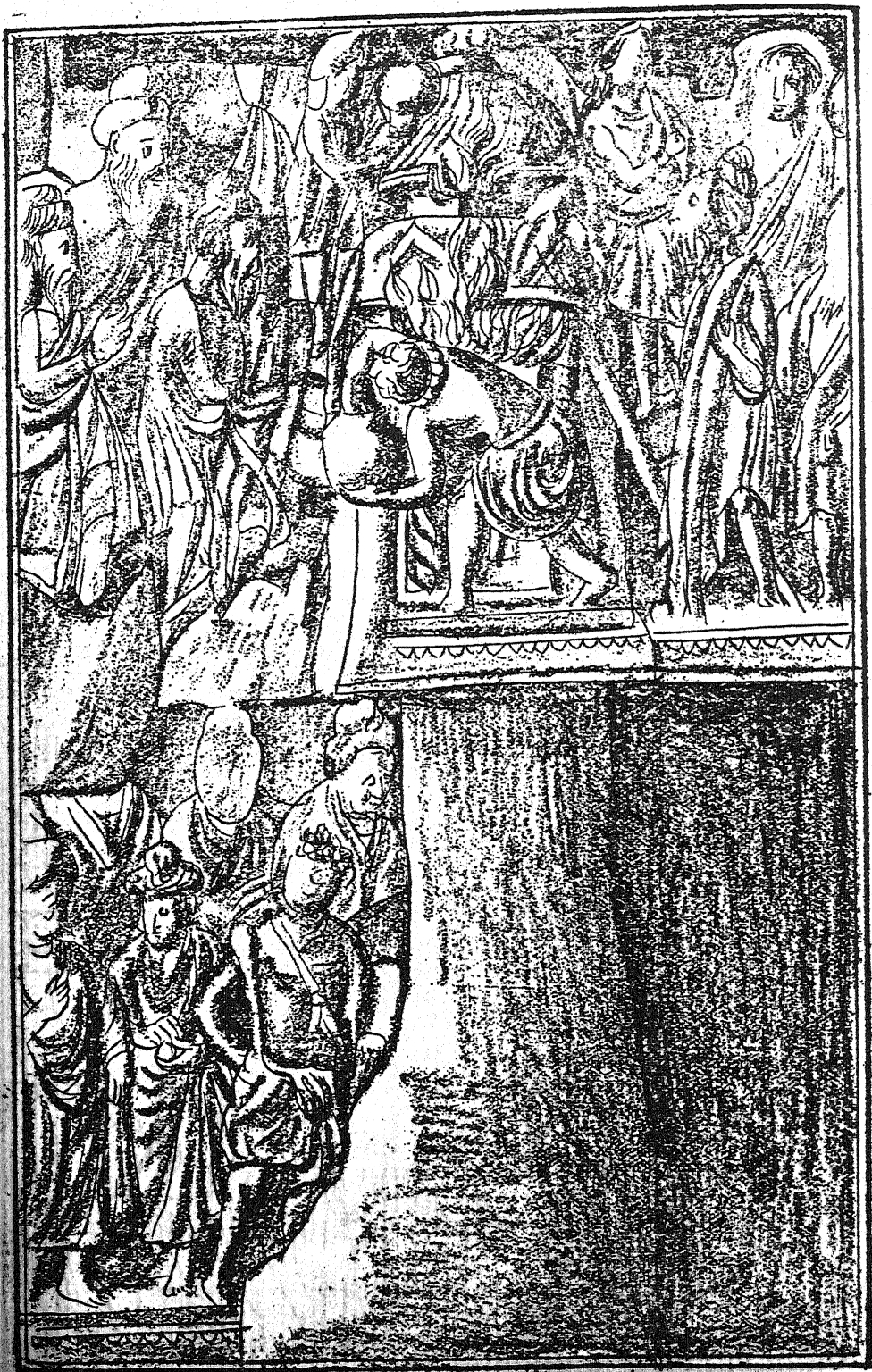
97.—Buddha, seated, addressing two standing figures. Each figure has a nimbus round the head.

101.—A king with two queens seated on a long couch. To the left an ascetic holds an infant on his knee. General Cunningham thinks this sculpture is intended to represent king Suddodhana with his two wives, Maya Devi and Prajapati, seated on the couch, while the holy ascetic, Asita, holds the infant Buddha on his knee.



463 115









105.—Prince Siddhartha, seated in meditation under the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya. A bare-headed figure to the right, with right shoulder bare; to the left a standing figure with highly ornamental conical hat. A very curious scene.

116.—Small sculpture representing Prince Siddhartha's groom, Chanda, leading his famous horse, Kanthika, on which he escaped from his family at night.

119.—This small panel contains one of the most curious sculptures in the Lahore Museum. It appears to represent the torturing of a Buddhist monk, who is fastened to a stake, with his arms bound behind him and a collar round his neck. His head is shaved and his only dress is the kilt, or *sanghati*. To the right two men are kneeling before him with joined hands. A man seated behind the monk is apparently cutting open the calf of his right leg, while a standing figure behind seems to be throwing a large stone at the victim.

120.—Two panels of a small frieze. On the right is a fire altar with two attendants feeding the flame with oil. On the left is a bearded fire worshipper, seated on a throne, with an attendant bringing some fruit as an offering, apparently either a pine apple, or a custard apple.

121.—Two royal persons, seated together on a long couch, or throne, with a large party in attendance. Behind each king there is a servant waving a diamond shaped fan. On each side are two persons of rank seated; but the figure on the extreme left has a nimbus round his head, and is probably a holy person.

135.—Royal figure, probably Prince Siddhartha, hands and feet gone. This fine statuette was extracted by Dr. Bellew from the stupa at Shahr-i-Bahlol, near Takht-i-Bái. It was imperfect when found.

137.—Portion of the gable end of a chapel. A party of royal persons approach Buddha with offerings. A figure with hands joined is seated on the capital of a pilaster, the shaft of which formed the side of the lower room of the chapel.

139.—Bearded figure seated on a throne, with a fire altar on the pedestal. On each side are two figures with offerings. In front of the figure are five fruits which look like custard apples. The principal figure seems to be one of the fire-worshipping opponents of Buddhism.

144.—A very complete representation of a gable fronted chapel comprising 4 compartments. At the top is Buddha's alms-bowl under, an umbrella. In the next panel Buddha is seated in abstraction; and in the two lower panels he is addressing his followers.

184.—Female guard carrying a spear. Similar to the figures seen in the palace of Prince Siddhartha. This sculpture was obtained by Major General Cunningham in 1847 in the grand old fortress of Ranigar

197.—Small panel of frieze. Buddha standing in the middle, with Deva-datta on his left hand, behind whom is a shaven-headed monk.

On Buddha's right are three females, and in front there is a male figure prostrate at Buddha's feet.

209.—The lower panel represents Prince Siddharta riding through the streets of Kapilavastu, when he encountered one of the four predictive signs.

210.—Small panel of frieze. Birth of Buddha. Maya Devi is standing under the Sal tree holding one of its branches. On her left side is Prajapati, her half-sister, on whom she is leaning for support. On her right side is Brahma receiving the infant prince as he springs from his mother's side.

220.—Birth of Buddha. Maya Devi is standing under the Sal tree, as usual, with Prajapati supporting her on the left side, and the god Brahma, receiving the infant prince, on her right side. There is a nimbus round Brahma's head, and a similar nimbus round the head of the figure behind him, who is therefore most probably Indra.

348.—Fragment. Male and female, both heads gone—the female with a short jacket, long petticoat, and large anklets.

376.—Panel of small frieze. The *Nirvana*, or death of Buddha, who is represented in the usual position, lying on his right side, with his right hand under his head. Three Sal trees are in the background to represent the forest, several worshippers are in attendance.

384.—Two scenes on a frieze divided by pilasters. *To the left*.—Buddha, attended by Deva-Datta, is addressing a Naga, whose serpent tail is hidden by a sort of altar from which the human body rises. *To the right*.—Buddha, attended by Deva-datta, is addressing an unknown male figure. A good piece of sculpture.

463.—Sculpture in three tiers, representing scenes in the life of Prince Siddhārtha. In the upper tier the Prince and his wife Yasodhara are seated together in the middle, while two girls dance in the side niches. In the middle tier the Prince is seated alone in the middle niche, while his horse is waiting ready for him in the left niche. In the right niche stands a female guard holding a spear. In the lower niche the Prince is seen riding out attended by an archer, and a man carrying an umbrella.

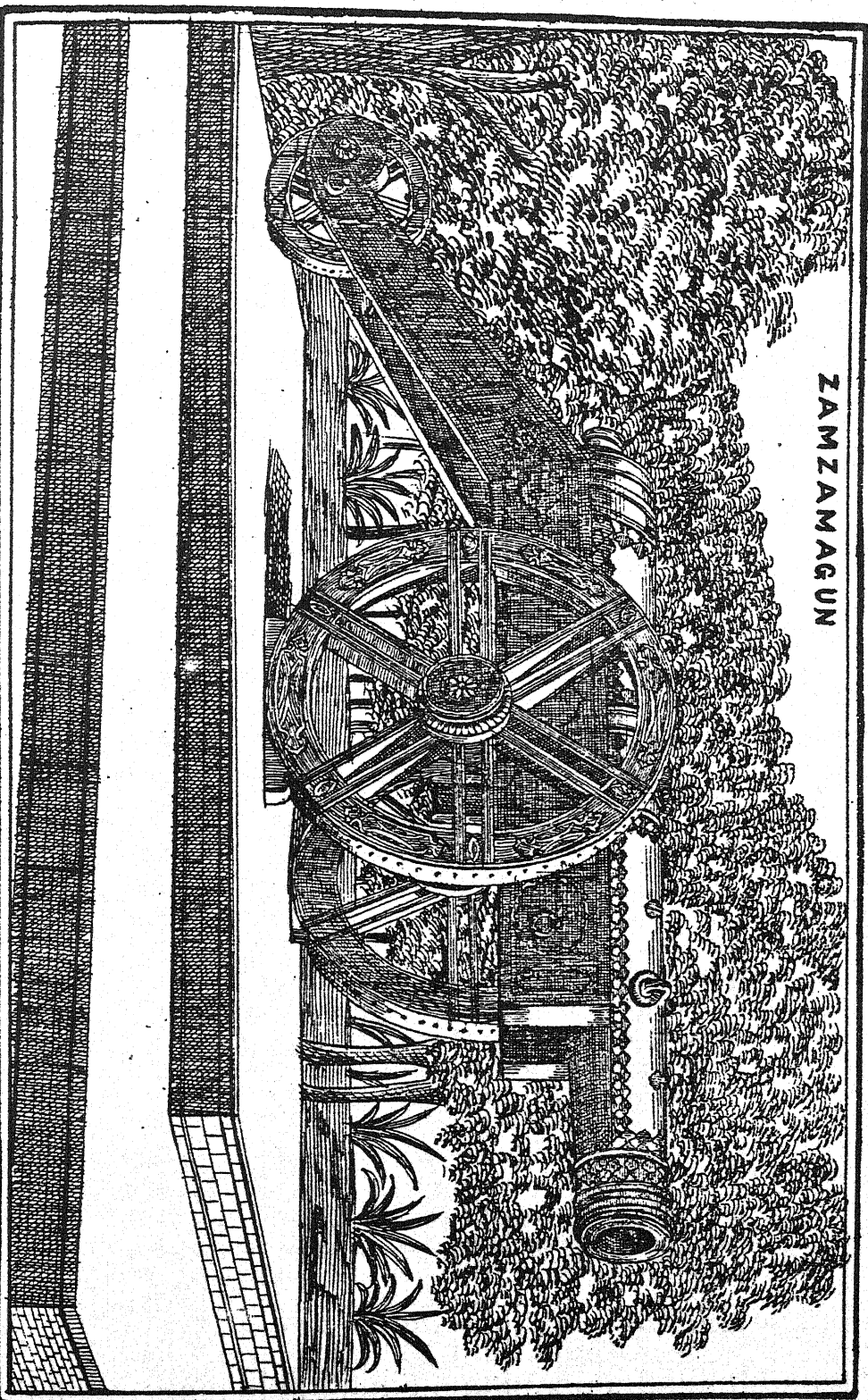
464.—The upper scene represents one of the most famous miracles of Buddha. The fire worshippers, all bearded, were prevented from lighting their fire altar by Buddha's mere wish. Afterwards the fire was lighted spontaneously at Buddha's wish; and lastly the fire could not be extinguished until Buddha wished it. It is this last scene which is here represented, where the fire worshippers are pouring vessels of water on the altar to put out the fire.

The lower scene is incomplete. The figure of Buddha is missing; but Deva-datta is an attendance with his curious staff.

534.—The gable end of a chapel, the lower part of which is missing except the capitals of the pilaster on each side.



ZAMZAMAGUN



gem shine more fittingly than it does in the Crown of the Great Queen, Empress of India.

THE ZAMZAMA GUN.

On a raised platform, opposite the entrance to the Museum and facing the Anarkali Sadr Bazar, is placed the famous Zamzama* gun, called also the *Bhangian Wala Top*. It was placed in this position on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Lahore, in February, 1870. The ancient piece of ordnance, one of the largest specimens of casting in India, was cast at Lahore, with another gun of the same size, in 1757 A.D. by Sháh Nazír, under the directions of Sháh Wali Khán, Prime Minister of the Abdali king Ahnad Shah, *Durrani*. It is made of a mixture of copper and brass, obtained by *Jazia* (capitation tax levied by the Muhammadans from the infidels), a metal vessel having been taken from each Hindu house in Lahore. Ahmad Sháh used it in the famous battle of Panipat, in 1761. After the battle, on his way back to Cabul, he left it at Lahore, with his governor, Khwájá Ubed, as the carriage for it to Cabul was not ready. The other gun he took with him; but it was lost in his passage of the Chenab. In 1762, Hari Singh, Bhangi, made war on Khwájá Ubed and attacked the village of Khwájá Saíd, two miles from Lahore, where the Moghal Governor had his arsenal, and seized his artillery, arms and ammunition. Among the guns captured on this occasion was the Zamzama gun, which thence forward came to be called, after the captor's name, the *Bhangi Top*. It lay unmounted in the *Sháh Burj* at Lahore until 1764, when Lahna Singh and Gujar Singh, Bhangis, obtained possession of it, on capturing Lahore. Two days after, Charat Singh, Sukerchakia, came to congratulate the Bhangi Sardars on their possession of Lahore, and made a demand for their share of the spoil. The Bhangi Sardars, unwilling to part with any portion of the conquered territory, tried to outwit him by offering him the Zamzama gun, hoping that its unwieldy character would prevent him from carrying it away. But the Sukerchakia chief, calling his men together, carried it first to his camp and then to his fort at Gujranwala. It was subsequently captured by the Chattas, who carried it to Ahmad Nagar. Ahmad Khán and Pir Muhammad Khán, brothers, the rival Chattha chiefs, quarrelled for its possession, and, in a fight which ensued, two sons of the former and one of the latter were killed. Gujar Singh, Bhangi, coming to the aid of Pir Muhammad Khán,

* Literally "Hummer" or "Applauder" but the word also means a lion's roar.

put Ahmed Khan to great straits, keeping him without water for one day and night. At length the Chatta chief restored the gun to Gujar Singh, who, cheating his ally, kept it for himself and carried it to his head-quarters at Gujrát. It remained with the Bhangis for two years, until, in an engagement between them and the Sukerchakias, it was wrested by Charat Singh, Sukerchakia. The Chattas, who were always fighting with the Sukerchakias, recovered it in 1772, and removed it to Rasul Nagar, since known as Ram Nagar. Sardar Jhanda Singh, Bhangi, having captured it the following year, after his return from Multán, carried it to Amritsar, where it remained in the Bhangi fort, till 1802, when Ranjit Singh, expelling the Bhangis from Amritsar, took possession of it. It came to be regarded as a talisman of supremacy, and Ranjit Singh employed it in his campaigns of Daska, Kasur, Sujánpur, Wazirábád and Multán. It was seriously injured at the siege of the last mentioned place in 1818, when it was removed to Lahore, as unfit for further service, and placed at the Delhi Gate of the city until 1870, when, as previously noted, it was removed to the present locality. Many regard it as an incarnation of Mahadeo, one of the principal Hindu Divinities.

The following inscription in Persian is cut round the muzzle or mouth of the gun :—

بامر در دوران شاه ولي خان وزير
ساخست توپ زمزمه نام قلعه گير
عمل شاه نظير

By order of the Emperor Durri Dowran Sháh Wali Khán, the Wazir made this gun, named Zamzama, the capture of strongholds. The work of Sháh Nazir.

On the back of the gun in the middle is the following inscription :—

داور داد بخش عدل شعار	در زمان شاه فریدون فر
خسرو نصرت گیر جم مقدار	در دوران عصر احمد شاه
امر از مدد سپهر مدار	شد بدمنتور اشرف انور را
توپ شعبان شکوه کوه وقار	که بریزد باهتتام تمام
شاه ولي خان وزير اکثر کار	خان زاد شاه سپهر سرير
کرد امتداد چند را احضار	بهر تقدیم آن مهم مسترک
زمزمه نام توپ نادرکار	تا بسعی تمام ریخته شد
شد با اقبال شاه روبرکار	قلعه کوه حصار چرخ دوم
کرد با وحشت آن چنان اظهار	مال تار بخش از خرد جستم
راز پنهان بتوکنم تکرار	که اگر نقد جان کنی تسلیم
پیکری از دهائی آتشبار	بعد تسلیم او بگفتا توپ

In the reign of the king possessing dignity like Faredun,
Dispenser of justice robed in equity.
The pearl of the age, Ahmad Shah,
King, the conqueror of thrones, dignified as Jamshed.

An order was issued to the grand Wazir,
 From the threshold of his Majesty,
 To have cast with every possible skill,
 A gun terrible as a dragon and huge as a mountain.
 His heaven-enthroned Majesty's servant,
 Shah Wali Khán, the minister of affairs,
 In order to accomplish that grand enterprise,
 Called together a number of master workmen,
 Till, with consummate toil,
 Was cast, this wonderful gun Zamzama.
 A destroyer even of the strongholds of heaven
 Has at last appeared, under the auspices of His Majesty.
 I enquired of reason for the date of this gun ;
 Reason, struck with terror, replied :
 " If thou wilt give thy life in payment,
 I will disclose to thee the secret."
 I agreed, and he replied :
 " What a gun ; a weapon like a fire-raining dragon."

The gun is 14 feet, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in length, exclusive of the case-mate, the aperture of the bore being $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

INSCRIPTIONS ON SIKH GUNS.

At the close of the first Sikh war, a subsidiary treaty was signed at Lahore, on 6th March 1846, between the British Government and the Sikh State, by which, at the earnest solicitation of the Sikh Darbar, His Excellency the Governor-General consented to leave a British force in garrison at Lahore until time should have been afforded for the re-organization of the Sikh army, the force on no account to remain in garrison for a longer period than the end of the year. Major, afterwards Sir Henry, Lawrence was left in charge of affairs. At this time 250 superb guns, which had been captured by the British troops in the late wars, were despatched to Calcutta. They were, during their march through British territories, saluted by the troops at every station where they halted, and, on arrival at their destination, they were publicly received with all honors. The victories had been gained in so incredibly short a time, and such was the popular belief in the strength of the Khalsa army, that, to convince the less informed people of the reality of the victories, it was considered advisable to make these demonstrations. Of the captured guns, 38 had on them inscriptions in Persian and Hindi. We copy some of these here from the *Tuhfat-ul-Akhab*, or Persian Memoir of Mirza Abdul Karim.

One of the guns bore the following inscription :—

قوي طالع شاه رنجيت سنگھ	همه ملك را زیر کرده چو خنک
كهرك سنگھ شهزاده عالي مكان	كه داناي كوران بود مادران
فتح جنگ شد در زماني تيار	كه هجده صد و بود هشتاد و چار
جمعدار اين توپ شد راي سنگھ	كه در جان فشانيست اويد رنگ
موجب صلح لاله جی سنگھ يار	خلام نبي گفت تاريخ دار
دمتخت گرو تارا گير بتاريخ	پنجم ماه ماگه مسه ۱۸۴۰

Ranjit Singh, of great fortune,
 Brought the whole country under his sway, as a horse is brought.
 Kharak Singh, that prince, possessing a lofty house,
 Whose mother is the wisest of the Princesses.
 The gun ' Fatehjang ' was made in the year (1834 Samwat).
 The guardian of this gun is Rai Singh,
 Who, in sacrificing life, makes no hesitation.
 As advised by his friend Jey Singh,
 Ghulam Nabi has recorded the date of the gun.
 Signed Guru Tárágir, 5th Magh, 1834."

Another inscription was as follows :—

چو اژد رها بجان و دل بسے داغ کهن دارم
 حذر کن ای رقیب از من که آتش در دهن دارم
 قطعه

ای راسد روی توپ ز نواب نامدار
 در راستی و پیروی خود یگانه
 اژدر دمی و شیر تر ادی و جنگ جو
 ماری و مهره داری و صاحب خزانه
 سرکار نواب محمد شجاع خان بهادر صفدر جنگ سنه ۱۱۸۳ هجری
 النبوی اممش کوه شکن بوزن یکصد و ده من گوله بمقدار دهن و
 باروت نصف از گوله در وزن

"Like unto a dragon, I have many an old spot on my mind and heart.
 Keep at bay from me, O enemy, for I have fire in my mouth."

Quartrain.

"O gun, straight in dealings, owned by the celebrated Nawáb,
 Thou hast no rival in straight-forwardness and magnitude,
 Dragon in breath, lion in courage, fond of war,
 Thou art like a serpent possessing the seal and treasure of State."

"The Government of Nawáb Muhammad Shujá Khán, Bahadur, *Safdarjang*, 1182 the Hijri year of the Prophet. The name of this gun is 'Koh Shikan' (the breaker of mountain); weight 110 maunds; ball in proportion to mouth; powder half the weight of the ball."

NOTE.—It appears that the gun was captured by the Sikhs in the Multán war with Nawáb Shujá Khán.

Inscription on another gun :—

سری اکال سہای
 هست این توپ مصری بلی رام هاتفش گشت فتح و نصرت نام
 ضرب آتش فشان و برق شرار صبح اعداز دود او چون شام
 سنه ۱۸۴۰

Sri Akal Sahi.

"This gun belongs to Missar Beli Ram.
 A voice from heaven gave it the name, 'Victory and triumph,'
 It showers forth fire and sparks of lightning,
 From its smoke the mornings of enemies are changed into evenings."
 "1840 Samwat."

Another gun bore the modest inscription :—

بفضل اکال مہای از حکم بادشاہ رنجیت سنگھ بہادر بلند اقبال
توپ جنگ بچلی باہتمام جواہر مل بکار خان صوبہ سنگھ ساخت
دارالسلطنہ لاہور سنہ ۱۸۹۸ در نصت سردار فتح سنگھ

"By the grace of the immortal, under orders of Ranjit Singh, the valiant king of high fortune, this gun, named *Jang Bijli*, was cast under the superintendence of Jawahar Mal, in the factory of Sūba Singh, situated in the *Dar-ul-Saltanat* of Lahore, in 1898, Samwat, under the care of Sardar Fateh Singh."

Inscription on a gun cast in the fort of Lahore :—

بموجب حکم حضور فیض گنپور سنگھ صاحب مرتاج خالص
بادشاہ رنجیت سنگھ جیو دام اقبال باہتمام میان قادر بخش در
قلم مبارک لاہور توپ دیوان لالہ موتی رام ورام دیال تیار شد
سنہ ۱۸۸۱ اسم توپ فتح جنگ عمل مہند حیات

"Under orders of His Gracious Majesty the Singh Sahib, the Crown Head of the Khalsa, the King Ranjit Singh Jio (may his dignity last for ever !), this gun, belonging to Diwān Lala Moti Rām and Rām Diāl, was completed in the blessed fort of Lahore, under the superintendence of Mian Qadar Bakhsh,* in 1881. The name of the gun is 'Fateh Jang.' The work of Muhammad Hayāt."

Several of the guns bore the name of Monsieur General Court.

The following inscription occurred on one of these :—

بفضل مری اکال پور کہ جی مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ بہادر دام
ملکہ و ملطنہ مری مہاراجہ صاحب ادھیراج در سنہ ۱۸۷۷ از
راجہ بکرماجیت ہذا لضرپ موسومہ لیلان حسب الامر اشرف
اقدس اعلیٰ حضور انور باہتمام صاحب اڑمطو فطرت فلاطون
زمان مشیر شوالیر جنرل کورٹ صاحب بہادر در عید گاہ بہمن
خدمت فضل علی کمیدان شاگرد صاحب مددوح بہادر ریختہ شد

"By the grace of the immortal, in the reign of the great sovereign, Mahārāja Ranjit Singh Bahadur (may his State and monarchy last for ever !), this gun, named *Lelan*, was cast, in Samwat 1887, the year of the holy Bikarmajit, by the noble and sacred orders of His Majesty, under the superintendence of the *Sahib* possessing wisdom like Aristotle, the Plato of the age, Monsieur Chevalier General Court, the valiant, in the manufactory of *Idgah*, under the guidance of Fazl Ali, Commandant, the pupil of the said *Sahib*, the valiant."

One of the guns had the following inscription on it :—

ہست این توپ اڑدھائی دھان از دم خود شرار برق افشان
بیک آواز خود کند ناگاہ بخش دشمن چو دود خویش میاہ
پے تفتیح قلم مہند چو خنگ زین سبب نام گشت نصرت جنگ
در عہد بادشاہ رنجیت سنگھ بہادر توپ سردار جوالا سنگھ
بہرانبہ باہتمام منشی دلہاغ راے سنہ ۱۸۷۷ عمل راے سنگھ توپ
ساز در سال یکہزار و ہشت صد و ہشتاد و ہفت اتمام یافت

* Mian Qadar Bakhsh was grandfather of Maulvi Zahur ud-din and Mr. Muhammad Shah Din, Barrister-at-Law, members of the Mian family of Baghbanpur. He was sent by Mahārāja Ranjit Singh to Ludhiana to learn the art of manufacturing guns, and on his return wrote a work on gunnery.

" This gun has a mouth like that of a dragon,
By its breath it can discharge sparks of lightning.
It can, by a single sound,
Render the fate of the enemy as dark as its own smoke,
Since it can reduce impregnable forts,
It received the name *Nasratjang* (or the gainer of victory.)

During the reign of the King Ranjit Singh Bahadur, this gun of Sardar Jwála Singh, Bharania, was constructed, in 1887, Samwat, under the superintendence of Munshi Dil Bagh Rái. The work of Rai Singh, gun-maker."

Some of the guns bore the name of Royal Princes. One of these had the following inscription on it—

از فضل گورو نانك و لطف گویند سنگھ
وز حکم شہزادہ نونہال سنگھ
شد توپ نو تیار ظفر جنگ شہ پسند
منصوب توپ خانہ جرنیل تیج سنگھ
ضرب سورج مکھی ساخت لاہور سنہ ۱۸۹۷

" By the grace of Guru Nanak and the favor of Govind Singh,
Under the orders of the Prince Kanwar Naunihal Singh,
This new gun, named *Zafarjang* and *Sháh Pasand*, has been cast,
It belongs to the Artillery of General Tej Singh."

Of *Surajmukhi* Series.—Manufactured at Lahore, in 1897 Samwat year."

THE ANCESTORS OF NAWAB ALI MARDAN KHAN.

Among the antiquities of Lahore, the genealogical table of the celebrated canal engineer, Nawab Ali Mardán Khán, and a number of ancient royal *sanads* in possession of Nawáb Amír Muhammad Khán, a *jagirdar* of Cabul and a descendant of Ali Mardan Khán, at present residing in Lahore, deserve mention, both on account of the interest which attaches to them as ancient documents, and for their value in tracing the history of a family once so conspicuous in the annals of this country, of which little is now known.

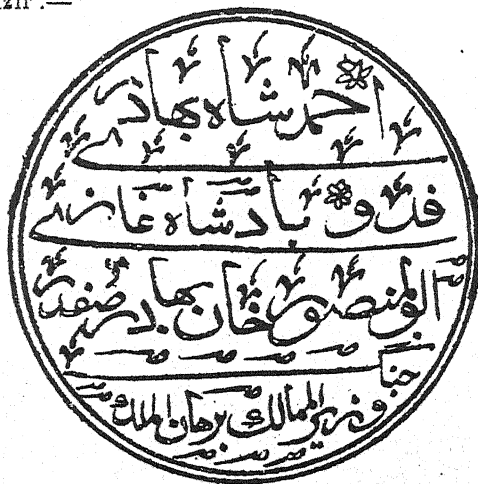
The following is the genealogy :—

Muzaffar-ud-din Jahándar Sháh.
Furrukh Sháh Bádsháh.
Sháh Rukh Mirza.
Sháhzada Ali Kuli Khán.
Sirdar Killaj Ali Khán.
Sirdar Ganj Ali Khán.
Nawáb Ali Mardán Khán.
Sirdar Bahrám Ali Khán.
Sirdar Muhammad Husein Khán.
Sirdar Ali Khán.
Nawáb Sháh Badul Khán.
Nawáb Feredun Khán.
Nawáb Amír Muhammad Khán.
Sirdar Sháh Pasand Khán.

Muzaffar-ud-din Jahándar Sháh was Governor of Turán and Azr Baján in the time of Umar Sheikh Mirza, the father of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Bábar, the Moghal Emperor, who laid the foundation of the Moghal dynasty of kings in India. His great grandson, Sháhzada 'Ali Kuli Khán, was for thirty-three years governor of Sherwanah, and Ganj 'Ali Khán, the grandson of the latter for fifteen years governor of Gurjistán. Nawáb 'Ali Mardán Khán was governor of Herat and Candahár under Sháh Sa'í, the Persian King, and, having been driven to revolt by the tyrannical proceedings of his master, joined Sháh Jahán at Lahore, in 1637, A. D.* His son, Sirdar Bahram 'Ali Khán, was governor of Sherwanah, and his grandson, Sirdar 'Ali Khán, governor of Turkistán. Nawáb Sháh Badal Khán was ruler of Shikárpur (Sindh) for forty-seven years.

Ancient Seals.

A deed of grant of a *jagir*, valued at Rs. 1,61,000 in the *Suba* of Multán, in favor of Sirdar 'Ali Khán, grandson of Nawáb 'Ali Mardán Khán, dated 18th Shaban, the first year of the accession of the Emperor Ahmad Sháh, bears the following seal of Safdarjang, the Wazir:—



Wazir-ul-Mumalik Burhan-ul-mulk Abul Mansúr Khán, Bahadur, Safdar-jang, Firdvi Ahmad Sháh Badshah, Bahadur, Ghazi.†

* Vide pages 53, 55, 58, and 152—53, *supra*.

† Abul Mansúr, better known by his title of Safdarjang, was the nephew and successor of Sa'adat 'Ali Khán, Viceroy of Oudh, whose daughter he married. He was of Persian descent, and came to India at the invitation of his uncle. After the departure of Nadir Sháh, Mansúr Khán was raised to the dignity of Wazir with the title of Safdarjang. He died in 1753 A. D., and was buried in the mausoleum which stands on the road to the Kutab Minár, about five miles from Delhi. For further particulars regarding this Amir, see my *History of the Panjab*, page 225.

A deed of grant of the same *jāgir*, in favor of Sirdar 'Ali Khān, dated 3rd Shaban, the third year of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh, bears the following seal of the Wazir Qamr-ud-dīn Khān. It is of smaller size than the seal of Safdarjang :—



*Iktidar-ul-daula Wazir-ul-Mamlak, Qamr-ud-dīn Khān, Khān Bahadur, Nasrat Jang, Fidri Muhammad Shāh, Badshah, Ghāzi, San Muhammad Shāh.**

A Royal *sanad* of the Emperor Ahmad Shāh, assigning the *jāgirs* held by Nawāb 'Ali Mardān Khān in India, Panjāb and Cabul to Sirdar 'Ali Khān, Jawan Sher, styled *Wāli*, or Ruler of Turkistān, and dated 12th Zilhij 1165 A. H.; has the impression of the following seal of the Wazir Moin-ud-dīn Khān :—



Moin-ul-Mulk Iktidar-ul-Daula, Moin-ud-dīn Khān, Diler Jang, Fidri Ahmad Shāh Bahadur Badshāh, Ghāzi.

* For an account of this Amir, see my *History of the Panjab*, page 212.

Some of the documents bear the following seal of Sháh Shuja :—



الملك لله
يا هو
شد از عین عنایت الهی مسلم بر شجاع الملك شاهي
سنه ۱۲۰۷

*The dominions are God's.
Oh Thou !*

By the special favour of God, Shuja-ul-Mulk became the admitted Ruler of the country, 1207 A. H.

The following impression of the seal of Sháh Zamán appears on several royal *sanads* in possession of Nawáb Amír Muhammad Khán and his son Sháh Pasand Khán :—



الملك لله
قرار داد ز الطاف خویشتن یزدان نگین حکم جهان را بنام شاه زمان

The dominions are God's.

God through His grace, stamped the seal of the world's monarchy with the name of Sháh Zamán.

The *Firmans* bear the signature of Nizám-ud-daula Wafá-dár Khán, the Wazír of Sháh Zamán.

The Nawáb has in his possession several *Morasilahs*, or letters, from the late Amír Dost Muhammad Khán, so much celebrated in

Afghán History, signed by the Amír himself. The Amír signed his name in the following style :—



Dost Muhammad.

His seal bears the following impression :—



یا امیر لکل امیر

God is the Lord of all Lords.

THE KASHI WORK.

The art of decorating buildings with enamelled or glazed tiles, known in the Panjáb as *Kashi*, or *Chini* work, is of Arabic origin, having been imported into Europe by the Arabs at the end of the ninth century. It was adopted by the Italians under the name of *Majolica*, in the manufacture of earthen-ware in the fourteenth century. Having been thus introduced into Europe, it made rapid strides in improvement, and, in time, gave birth to the porcelain wares of Limoges, Dresden, Sevres and Plaissey.

It was introduced into India from China, through Persia, by the Moghuls, at the end of the thirteenth century, and, according to tradition, the influence of Tamerlane's Chinese wife had much to do with its introduction into Eastern countries. It had existed in others forms among Semitic nations from the fourteenth century.

Major Cole, R. E., finds that the employment of glazed tiles for agricultural purposes, dates from Rhamses II (B. C. 1452). The Chinese used coloured porcelain in their buildings from an early period ; " but so far " writes Major Cole, " as I have been able to ascertain, the first Muhammadan building in which glazed tiles were used, is the villa Viciosa Mosque of Cordova, in Spain, which, according to Prisse, dates from A. D. 965, and, according to Fergusson, from A. D. 1200."

Fergusson gives the celebrated mosque of Tabrez, built about the end of the thirteenth century, as the earliest instance in Persia

of glazed tiles. That was built just after the conquest of Persia by the Moghals. The next is described as the tomb of Muhammad Khuda Bandah in Súltaniah, built by the successor of Ghazan Khán, the founder of the Mosque at Tabrez.*

The earliest instance of the employment of glazed tiles for external decoration at Lahore is the tomb of Sháh Musa, built in the time of Ibrahim Lodi, (1519 A. D.)† or a little time before India was invaded by Babar. But the art did not come into general use until the time of the Moghals, and in the time of Sháh Jahán it took a new form. The use of encaustic tiles was, at this time, to a great extent, discontinued, and the decorations were executed on a hard kind of cement. This process being probably cheaper, the *Kashi* designs were universally adopted in the period of Sháh Jahán, and we hardly meet with a mosque, a tomb, or a gateway of this period which is not decorated with Kashi work. Strangely, writes Mr. Thornton, the *Kashi* design, as an architectural ornament, became almost entirely disused after the time of Sháh Jahán, and the art was almost lost to the Panjáb.‡ But the art has almost died out in both India and Persia, which employed it so largely on architectural ornamentation; and, while it has thus disappeared from the countries of the East, its home and place of birth, those of the West, which applied it to articles of every day use, have made great progress in it.

With regard to the *Kashi* work at Lahore, it may be mentioned that there lived, in 1876, in that town, an artist in the work, named Muhammad Bakhsh. He was then 97 years of age, and with him the secret of *Kashi* work probably died, for he steadily refused to take pupils.

* According to Major Cole, R. E., the following oriental buildings are good examples of the early employment of tiles:—

- 1.—Jami-i-Masjid, Badáon, 1223 A. D.
- 2.—Tomb of Bahawal Haq, Multán, 1250 A. D.
- 3.—Mosque of Tabrez, Persia, 1294 A. D.
- 4.—Mosque of Chey Koum, Cairo (the earliest use of glazed tiles in Cairo), 1354 A. D.
- 5.—Tomb of Tamerlane's father, Samarkand, tile Mosaic, 1404 A. D.
- 6.—Tomb of Tamerlane, Samarkand, 1404 A. D.
- 7.—Man Singh's Palace, Gwalior, tile Mosaic, 1507 A. D.
- 8.—Jamálí Kamálí Tomb, Delhi, do., 1528, A. D.
- 9.—Tomb of Muhammad Mumin, at Nakodar, near Jalandhar, 1612 A. D.
- 10.—Jahángír's tomb, Lahore, tile Mosaic, 1627 A. D.
- 11.—Wazír Khán's Mosque, Lahore, do., 1632 A. D.

† *Vide*, Article, No. 91, Chapter II, page 204.

‡ Thornton's Lahore, page 148.

Persian inscription on a slab of marble.

The following is a Persian inscription on a slab of marble in the Lahore Museum.—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به نستعين—در عهد سعادت
 مهدي حضرت اورنگ زیب بادشاه عالم گیر منہ دوازده جلوس
 والا مطابق منہ ۱۰۸۰ هجري بنده درگاه معين شمشير خان ترين
 يعنايب الهي و اقبال شاهنشاهي ملك مندر را بتصرف
 اوليائي دولت قاهره در اورده اين قلع و عمارت و چاه را
 ساخت

"In the name of God, the merciful, whose aid I implore. During the auspicious reign of His Majesty Aurangzeb, Alamgir, the king, in the 12th year of his exalted accession, corresponding to 1080 Hijri, the slave of the Royal Court, Shamsheer Khán, Tarín, having, by the grace of God and the good fortune of the Emperor, conquered the country of Mandar for the servants of the victorious State, built this citadel, edifice and well."

THE COINS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

The most valuable treasure of antiquarian interest, possessed by the Lahore Museum, is the stock of ancient coins of various ages from the period of the Greek invasion to the present times.

The numismatic studies and researches of Wilson, Prinsep, Edward Thomas, General Cunningham, and other scholars, have done much towards filling up the gaps in the history of India between the period of the Greek settlements and that of the Muhammadan invasions; and to their labours we mainly owe our knowledge, however imperfect as yet, of the several dynasties of Greek, Indo-Scythian, Brahman and Hindu kings whose sway extended from Cabúl, Jalálábád and the defiles of the Khyber to the ancient Hesudra. Kingdoms and dynasties, rose, flourished, and fell during the interval of centuries that preceded the Muhammadan invasion of the country, of which not even the full names have been preserved. Towns and cities in turn flourished and decayed, of which nothing is on record, while their exact localities are even disputed. The evidence afforded by coins, furnishes a starting point for the history of kingdoms and dynasties long since forgotten. They enable the antiquary to recover many a landmark in ancient history that has faded away, or been lost in the gulf of tradition and myth. They are, indeed, like dissected maps of which the details may be filled in by subsequent patient and careful research.

The credit of collecting so valuable a treasure is due to the Panjáb Government, which has recently published a catalogue of these coins, compiled by Mr. C. J. Rodgers. The coins are of the greatest interest, and are calculated to afford invaluable help to

future historians in the composition of their works, although much remains to be done in the way of acquisition of specimens to connect the still-missing links of past history.

Among the Græco-Bactrian coins obtained by means of grant made by the Panjáb Government, the first to be mentioned is a silver coin of Alexander the Great. The obverse of this coin has a head to the right with a lion's head skin for a head-dress. The reverse bears the impression of Jupiter on a throne, with hawk in the right hand. Silver coin of Alexander.

There are the Greek coins of Antiochus Sophytes, Diodotus, Euthydemus I, Demetrius, Euthydemus II, Antimachus Theos, Eukratides, Heliokles, Antialkidas, Lysias, Diomedes, Archebius, Apolledotus, Strato, Agathokleias, Menander, Epander, Zoilus, Antimachus Nikephoros, Philoxenus, Nikias, Hippostratus, Amyntus, Hermaeus, Kalliope. Coins of Greek Kings.

The coins have for the most part the helmeted head of the king to the right, Hercules seated on a rock to the left, with club in right hand, or Jupiter seated on a throne. Some have the bust of the king to the right with an elephant's head for a head-dress. Others bear the impression of the head of Apollo, or of a lion, elephant, Indian bull, bullock, owl, &c. There are the figures of Athene standing front; Apollo standing, in the left hand a bow, and in the right an arrow; Pallas to right holding, a thunderbolt in the right hand and wearing a shield on the left arm; Victory to right, holding in the right hand a wreath. Inscriptions on these coins mostly representations of Greek mythology.

Many of these coins were obtained in frontier Districts and Afghanistán. The impressions on the coins represent mostly scenes from Greek Mythology. All the Greek kings struck coins of various denominations, weights and sizes in both silver and gold, and in copper.

Of the Indo-Scythian kings of the Panjáb, there are the coins of Maues, Azes, Azilises, Vonones, Spalahores, Gondopharres, Sasan, Orthagnes, Abdagases, Pakores, Zeionises Hyrkodes, Kadphises I, Kadphises II, and Soter Megas. Coins of Indo-Scythian kings.

The inscriptions represent the king on horseback, holding in his hand a wreath or a spear; Zeus with a spear over the left shoulder; Pallas with a thunderbolt in the right hand; a king seated cross-legged on a cushion, with the right arm extended, and the left hand holding a spear; female figure with a palm branch on the left shoulder; Hercules with a club on the left shoulder; Inscriptions on these coins.

standing figure with spear in the right hand; bearded head of king; horse galloping; figures of lion; bull; harnessed horse. Some of the impressions are striking. Kadaphes, the king, is represented on a copper coin as seated on a garden chair, with right hand extended. Kadphises II is represented on a gold coin as seated on a throne facing to the right, holding in his right hand a flower, and with his left hand resting on the left knee. His coat covers his knee and part of the throne, and flames issue from his head and right shoulder.

Sassanian coins.

There are coins of Sassanian kings with inscriptions in Pahalwi and the bust of the king. The coins bear impressions of fire altars with flames.

Gupta coins.

The Gupta coins have the image of Chandra Gupta, Lakshmi and Samundra Gupta variously represented. Chandra Gupta is represented as dressed in a long-tailed coat, with a bow in his right hand and the bird standard behind the right arm.

Lakshmi is seated on a lotus flower, cross-legged, holding a wreath in her right hand and a lotus flower in the left.

Buddhist coins.

There are also Buddhist coins with inscriptions in Indian Pali and images of females, deer, snake, &c.

Coins of the Khalifats.

There are silver coins of the Khalifas of Baghdad, Almansur (150 A. H.), Harun-al-Rashid (173 A. H.), Elmamum (200 A. H.),

Of the Muhammadan Kings of Sindh.

and silver coins of the early Muhammadan kings of Sindh, Abdul Rahman, Muhammad Amir Abdullah, Amir Ahmad and Ali.

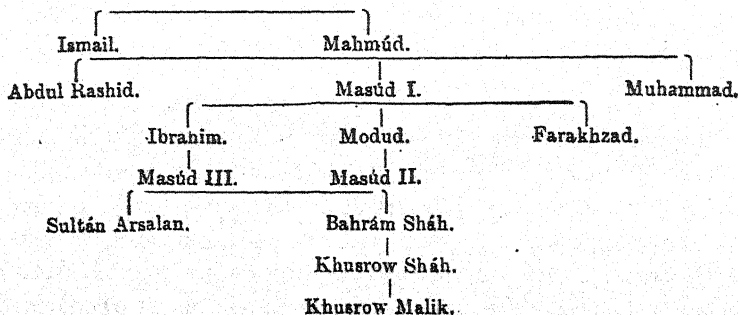
Muhammadan coins.

The Museum is rich in Muhammadan coins of all ages. In noticing the coins of different kings, some particulars of interest relating to the life of each have been added, which, it is hoped, will be found useful as affording facility of reference in larger works on Indian History.

THE GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY.

Genealogy of the Kings of Ghazni.

SABUKTAGIN,



Amir Násir-ud-din Sabuktagin, originally a private horseman in the service of Alaptagin, and a Tartar by birth. Died in Tarmuz, in Balkh, in August, 997 A. D. in the 56th year of his age. Burial place Ghizni. Flourished in the time of Almoatti, Khalif of Baghdad.

1.—Nasir-ud-din Sabuktagin.

Coin :—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله وحده لا شريك له
نوح بن منصور ميكتكين الطائع لله

"There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. God is one, with no compeer. Obedient to the command of God, Nuh *alias* Subuktagin, son of Mansúr."

On the death of Subuktagin, his eldest son Mahmúd being absent on an expedition, his second son Ismail was crowned king at Balkh. A silver coin of Ismail in the Museum has the following inscription on it :—

2.—Amir Ismail.

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
محمد الرسول الله منصور بن نوح اسمعيل

"There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. God is one, with no compeer. Obedient to the command of God, Ismail son of Nuh, son of Mansúr."

Sultan Mahmúd, surnamed *Amin-ul-Millat Yamin-ud-daulah*, or the asylum of Faith, and the right hand of State, known also as Butshikan, or the Iconcolast, the eldest son of Subuktagin. Died of the stone on 29th April, 1030, in the 63rd year of his age and the 33rd of his reign. Was buried by torch-light in Kasr Ferozi, or the palace of triumph, at Ghizni. Flourished in the time of Alkadar Billah, the Abbasi, Khalif of Baghdad.

3.—Sultán Mahmúd.

Coin : after the Kalima :—

القادر بالله يمين الدوله
وامين الملك محمود

"Alkadar Billah, Yamin-ud-daulah Amin-ul-Mulk Mahmúd."

In 419 A. H. he struck the following coin at Lahore which he here calls Mahmúdpur* :—

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم به محمود پور
سنة تسع عشرة واربع مائه

"Begin in the name of God. This coin was struck at Mahmúdpur, in 419 A. H.

The coin bears the name of the Khalif and of Mahmúd with his usual titles. The reverse and the margin have inscriptions in Hindi characters.

- 4.—Muham-
mad. On the death of Mahmúd, Muhammúd, his son, was raised to the throne of Ghizni; but he had reigned only five months, when he was blinded and deposed by his twin brother, Masúd I.

There is a unique silver coin of Muhammad in the Museum, bearing the following inscription:—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله ظفر
جلال الدول جمال الملت محمد بن محمود اندراب

"There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. God is one. He has no compeer. The splendour of State, the beauty of religion, Muhammad son of Mahmúd, struck at Indrab."

- 5.—Masúd
I. Masúd I, son of Mahmúd, having deposed his brother, Muhammad, ascended the throne in 1031. Was deposed by the army, and put to death in the castle of Kari in 1042. He was contemporary with Alkadar Billah, Khalif of Baghdad.

Coin:—after the Kalima:—

القائم بامر الله ناصر الدين الله مسعود

"Obedient to the command of God, victorious of the religion of God, Masúd."

- 6.—Maudúd.
Maudúd, son of Masúd, was crowned king at Ghizni in 1042. Died, 24th December 1049. He reigned in the time of Alkaem, Khalif of Baghdad.

Coin:—

القائم بامر الله شهاب الدول
وقطب الملت مودود بن مسعود

"Obedient to the command of God, the star of State, the leader of religion, Maudúd, son of Masúd."

On the reverse is the impression of a bull, with the Hindi words *Sri Samanta Deva* over it. In some of the coins Maudúd styles himself *Abul Fateh* ابو الفتح, "Father of Victory." In his coins Lahore is spelt as لهور Lohor.

- 7.—Abdul
Rashid. Abdul Rashid, son of Mahmúd, ascended the throne in 1051, but had reigned only one year when he was deposed by Toghrul, a usurper. His titles were:—

عزالدول وزين الملت

"The honor of State and ornament of religion,"

which he inscribed on his coin.

Farukhzad, the son of *Masúd*, died in 1058, after reigning 8—*Farakh*-six years. He reigned while *Alkaem* still sat on the throne of the *zád*. *Khalifat*, supported in his spiritualities by *Toghral Beg*, the Emperor of Persia. He coined under the title of,

جمال الدول وكمال الملة فرخ زاد

"The splendour of State, the excellent of religion, *Farakhzód*."

Some of his coins bear the inscription :—

جمال الدول ابو شجاع فرخ زاد

"The splendour of State, the father of bravery *Farukhzad*."

On the reverse is the impression of a bull, over which in Hindi is the inscription *Sri Samanta Devi*.

Ibrahim, the brother of *Farákhzád*, and son of *Masúd*, ascended the throne on his brother's death, and died in 1098, ^{9.—*Ibra*·him.} after reigning forty-two years.

Coin—The *Kalima* followed by—

وحده لا شريك له

"God is One, without compeer."

Then follow the name and title of the king :—

القائم بامر الله ظهير الدوله ابوالمظفر ابراهيم بن مسعود

"Obedient to the command of God, the asylum of State, the father of victory, *Ibrahim*, son of *Masúd*."

Some of the coins bear the inscription :—

السلطان الاعظم قاهر الملوك سيد السلاطين ابراهيم

"The great Sultan, the most powerful of kings, the most noble of sovereigns, *Ibrahim*."

Another coin has the following inscription :—

Obv :—

عبدل السلطان الاعظم قاهر الملوك سيد السلاطين ابوالمظفر ابراهيم

"The great and just Sultan, the mightiest of kings, the most noble of sovereigns, the father of victory, *Ibrahim*."

Rev :—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله القائم بامر الله ملك الاسلام

"There is no God but God, and Muhammad, the Prophet of God. Obedient to the command of God, the king of Islam."

A silver coin of Lahore has on the obverse—

عدل السلطان المعظم ابوالمظفر ابراهيم الدرهم به لهور

“The great and just Sultán, the father of victory, Ibrahim. This Dirham was struck at Lohor.”

On the reverse is the figure of a bull, with *Sri Samanta Deva* in Hindi characters.

10.—Masúd III.

Masúd III, son of Ibrahim, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He reigned from 1198 to 1114.

Coin :—Obv :—

لله منال الله لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله
المستظهر بالله الملك الاسلام ابو مسعود

Rev :—

السلطان الاعظم علاء الدول وثنا الملة ظهير الامام مسعود

Obv :—

“Unto the Lord alone praise is due. There is no God but God, and Muham-mad is the Prophet of God. Dependent entirely upon God, the king of Islam, the fountain of prosperity.

Rev :—

“The great Sultán, the dignified of State, the asylum of religion, the dignified, Imam Masúd.”

The copper coins have on them the figure of a bull with the words *Sri Samanta Deva* in Hindi, the inscription being :—

عدل السلطان العادل ابو مسعود مسعود

“The just Sultán, the source of prosperity, Masúd.”

11.—Sultán Arsallan.

Sultán Arsallan, son of Masúd III, who succeeded his father to the throne of Ghizni, had reigned three years when he was put to death, in the 27th year of his age.

Coin :—

السلطان الاعظم ملك ارسالان

“The great Sultán, Malik Arsallan.”

12.—Bah-rám Sháh.

Bahrám Sháh, the son of Masúd III, succeeded Arsallan, and, having reigned peaceably for thirty-five years, died in 1152.

Coin :—After the confession of faith :—

Obv :—

المسترشد بالله عصا الدول مسعود

Rev :—

يمين الدول بهرام شاه

Obv :—

“Guided by God, the strength of State, Sanjar.”

Rev :—

“The right hand of State, Bahrám Sháh.”

We here find the name of Sanjar, king of Persia, to whom the Sultán of Ghizni now owed allegiance, inscribed on the coin, instead of that of the Khalif of Baghdad, whose power was on the decline.

Khusrow Sháh, the son of the Emperor Bahrám, was sa-^{12.—Khusrow Sháh.} luted king of Ghizni on the death of his father. He died at Lahore in 1160, having reigned in peace for seven years.

Coin : after the Confession of Faith.

Obv :—

المتقي لا مر اله عصدالدوله منبر

Rev :—

السلطان الاعظم معزالدوله خسرو شاه

Obv :—

“Abiding by the command of God, the strength of State, Sanjar.”

Rev :—

“The great Sultán, the honour of State, Khusrow Sháh.”

Khusrow Malik, the son of Khusrow Sháh, ascended the^{13.—Khusrow Malik.} throne. He was destined to be the last of the line of Ghizni kings, who had reigned from 962 to 1186, or for 224 years. Lahore was reduced by Sultán Muhammad Ghorí in 1186, and the empire passed from the house of Ghizni to that of Ghour.*

Coin :—

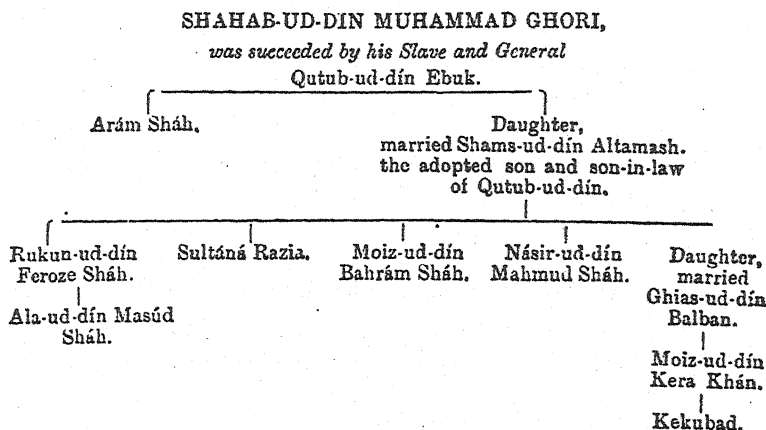
السلطان الاعظم منار الدوله خسرو ملك

“The great Sultán, the lamp of State, Khusrow Malik.”

On some of the coins the Sultán is styled تاج الدوله, or Crown of State.

* Vide page 12 ante.

THE GHORI AND TARTAR SLAVE DYNASTIES.

Genealogy of the Tartar Ghori dynasty of Kings.

1.—Sultān
Shāhab-ud-
dīn Muham-
mad Ghori.

Sultān Shāhab-ud-dīn, surnamed Muhammad Ghori bin Sām, who truly laid the foundations of the Muhammadan empire in Hindustān, was on his march to his western provinces when he was assassinated on the banks of the Indus by the Ghakkars, on March 14th, 1206. His body was conveyed, in mournful pomp, to Ghizni, where he was interred. He had reigned thirty-two years, from the commencement of his reign at Ghizni.

Coin :

Obv :—

السلطان الاعظم معزالدين والدين
ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

“The great Sultān, the honour of the world and religion, the father of victory, Muhammad.

Rev :—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله
الناصر الدين الله امير المؤمنين

“There is no God, but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. The Conqueror of the religion of God, the Chief of the faithful.”

Margin to Obv :—

ضرب هدا الدنيا ر بيلدة غزنيت
في شهر منته منته مايت

Margin to Rev :—

هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق
ليظهره علي الدين كله *

“He is the Lord who sent His Prophet for guidance with a true religion that he might cause that religion to triumph over all others.”

There are no coins in the Museum of Qutb-ud-dín, who succeeded Muhammad Ghori; but there are coins of Taj-ud-dín Yelduz, who was in temporary possession of the Panjáb soon after the accession of Qutb-ud-dín in 1206. ^{2—Taj-ud-dín Yelduz.}

The coins of Yelduz in the Muscum have the following inscription on them :—

Obv :—

السلطان المعظم ابو الفتح يلدز سلطان

"The great Sultán, the father of victory, Yelduz, the king."

Rev :—

Horseman with star beneath and a Hindi passage.

One specimen has the following inscription :—

Obv :—

السلطان الاعظم معزالدين والدين

Rev :—

عبد الملك المعظم تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

Obv :—

"The great Sultán honoured in the world and religion."

Rev :—

"The slave of the honoured king, the crown of the world and of religion, Yelduz."

Another specimen has the inscription :—

معزالدين والدين عبده يلدز

"Honoured in this world and in religion, the slave of God, Yelduz."

There are also the coins of Pirthwi Rája, the Rája of Ajmer, who was taken prisoner by Muhammad Ghori in the celebrated battle of Narain.* They have on the obverse the figure of a horseman, with the inscription *Sri Prithwi Deva*, and on the reverse the figure of a bull with the words *Sri Asawari Samanta Deva*, in Hindi. ^{The Coins of Pirthwi Rája.}

On the death of his father, Qutb-ud-dín, in 1210, Arám Sháh, his only son, ascended the throne; but he was deposed the same year by Shams-ud-dín Altamash, who reigned until 1235, when he died. He was buried at Delhi.† ^{3.—Shams-ud-dín Alta-mash.}

Coin : Obv :—

السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين

Rev :—

لاله محمد الرمولى الله المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين

* Vide page 13 ante.

† The tomb of Shams-ud-dín Altamash is outside the north-western corner of the Masjid Quwwat-ul-Islam near the Qutb Minar, Delhi,—*Asar-us-Sanadid*.

Obv :—

"The great Sultán, the sun of the world and religion, the father of victory, Altamash, the king, the head of the faithful."

Rev :—

"There is no God, but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. Almústansar Billah, the head of the faithful."

The following coin was struck by this king at Lahore :—

Obv :—

Rev :—in circle.

عدل
السلطان المعظم
ايلتمش السلطان

ضرب بـلاهور

Obv :—

Rev :—

"The just and great king Sultán Altamash."

"Struck at Lahore."

4.—Rukn-
ud-dín Feroz.

Rukn-ud-dín Feroz was crowned king on the death of his father at Delhi. He was defeated and deposed by his sister, Sultána Razia Begam, during the year of his accession (November 1236.)*

Coin :

السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا و الدين فيروز شاه

"The great Sultán, the pillar of State and religion, Feroz Sháh."

Another coin has the impression of a bull, with the Hindi words :—

"Suritan Sri Rukn-ud-dín."

And the impression of a horseman.

5.—Sultána
Razia.

Sultána Razia, who succeeded her brother, Rukn-ud-dín Feroz, occupied the throne until 1239, when she was put to death. She was buried at Delhi.†

Coin :—

السلطان المعظم رضيت الدنيا و الدين السلطان

"The great Sultán, contented in this world and the next, the Sultán."

Some of the coins have only the word رضيه Razia.

6.—Moiz-
ud-dín Bah-
rám Sháh.

Moiz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, son of Altamash, who succeeded Razia Sultána, was deposed and put to death in 1241.‡

Coin—*Obv* :—

"Bull over which, in Hindi, is the inscription Sri Moij."

Rev :—

Horseman.

7.—Ala-ud-
dín Masúd.

Ala-ud-dín Masúd, who succeeded Moiz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, was the son of Rukn-ud-dín Feroz. He was deposed by his uncle, Nástr-ud-dín Mahmúd, and placed in confinement in 1246.

* His tomb is situated in Malikpur, near Delhi.

† Razia Sultána is buried in new Delhi, near the Turkman Gate,—Carr Stephens.

‡ His tomb is situated in Malikpur, near Delhi.

Coin:—

السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر
مسعود شاه السلطان
في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

"The great Sultán, elevated in State and religion, the father of victory, Masúd Sháh, the king. Struck during the reign of Imám Mustasam, the Chief of the faithful."

Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, son of Shams-ud-dín Altamash, who succeeded Ala-ud-dín Masúd, reigned for more than 20 years, when he died in 1266. 8.—Násir-dín Mahmúd.

Coin:—

السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر محمود بن السلطان
في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

"The great Sultán, the victorious of State and religion, the father of victory, Mahmúd, the son of Sultán. Struck during the reign of Imam Mustasam, the Chief of the faithful."

Ghias-ud-dín Balban, the son-in-law of Altamash, occupied the throne until 1286, when he died.*

9.—Ghias-ud-dín Balban.

Coin: Obv:—

السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين
ابوالمظفر بلبن السلطان

Rev:—

الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

Obv:—

"The great Sultán, the asylum of State and religion, the father of victory, Sultán Balban."

Rev:—

"The Imám, defender of the faithful, Mustasam."

Margin:—

ضرب هذا القضة بحضرة دهلي

"This coin has been struck in the metropolis of Delhi."

Motáz-ud-dín Kekubád, grandson of Ghías-ud-dín Balban, who succeeded, reigned until 1288, when he was murdered by Jalal-ud-dín Feroz, Khiljai. 10.—Motáz-ud-dín Kekubád.

Coin: Obv:—

السلطان اعظم معز الدنيا و الدين
ابوالمظفر كيقياد السلطان
الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

Rev:—

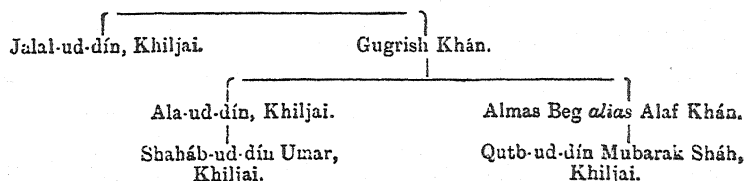
"The great Sultán, the honour of State and religion, the father of victory, the King Kekubád. The head of the faithful, Imám Mustasam."

* He is buried in Dar-ul-Aman in the precincts of Qutb Minar, Delhi.—Carr Stephen, p. 79.

From the accession of Qutb-ud-dín to the death of Kekubád, the Tartar slave Ghorí kings had reigned for a period of eighty-three years, 1205 to 1288.

THE HOUSE OF KHILJAI.

Genealogy of Tartar Khiljai Dynasty of Kings.



1.—Jalal-ud-dín Feroz Sháh.

Jalal-ud-dín Feroz Sháh, the chief of the Khiljai tribe, succeeded Kekubád on the throne of India, at the age of seventy. He had reigned for a period of seven years, when he was murdered by his nephew, Ala-ud-dín, in 1295.

Coin :—

السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر
فيروز شاه السلطان الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين

"The great Sultán, the glory of State and religion, the father of victory, Feroz Sháh, the Sultán. The Amir of the faithful, Imám Mustasam."

2.—Ala-ud-dín, Khiljai.

Ala-ud-dín, Khiljai, was crowned king in the latter end of 1296, and died* in 1316, after a reign of 20 years.

Coin : Obv :—

السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Rev : inside—

مكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين

Margin :—

ضرب هذه السكة بعصرة دهلي في سنة احدى و مبع مائت

Obv :—

"The great Sultán, the exalted of State and religion, the father of victory, Muhammad Sháh, the king."

Rev :—

"The second Alexander, the right hand of State, the victorious, the Amir of the faithful."

Margin :—

"This coin was struck at the capital of Delhi in 701."

3.—Qutb-ud-dín Mubarak Sháh.

Qutb-ud-dín Mubarak Sháh ascended the throne in 1317 and was murdered in 1329.

Coin : Obv :—

الامام الاعظم خليفته رب العلمين قطب الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر

* He was buried in the precincts of the Kuth, Delhi.—*Asar-us-Sanadid*.

Rev:—

مبارك شاه السلطان ابن السلطان
الوائق بالله امير المؤمنين

Margin:—

ضرب هذا السكته بدار الاسلام في سنة سبع عشرة مبع مائته

Rev:—

"The great Imám, the Khalif of God, the cherisher of the world, the star of State and religion, the father of victory."

Rev:—

"Mubarak Sháh, the king, son of the king, strengthened by the grace of God, the Amir of the faithful."

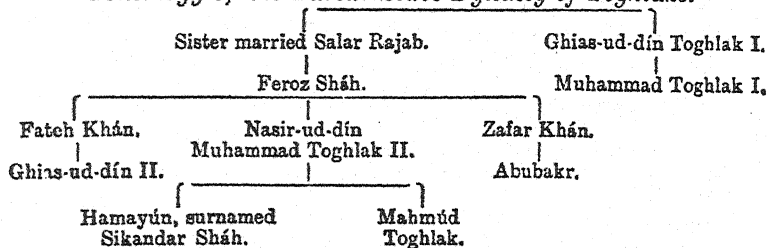
Margin:—

"This coin was struck in the Dar-ul-Islám, in the year 717.

The Khiljai dynasty lasted from 1288 to 1321.

THE TOGHLAK DYNASTY.

Genealogy of the Tartar Slave Dynasty of Toghlaqs.



Ghias-ud-dín Toghlaqs, the son of a Turki slave of Ghias-ud-dín Balban, by an Indian mother, was, by the unanimous voice of the people, elected emperor. He was killed by the fall of a pavilion in 1325.*

1.—Ghias-ud-dín Toghlaqs.

Coin:—

السلطان الغازي غياث الدنيا والدين تغلق شاه
السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين—ضرب هذا السكته بعضرت دهلي
في سنة اثني وعشرين و مبع مائته

"The valiant Sultán, the asylum of State and religion, Toghlaqs Shah, the conquering king, the Amir of the faithful. This coin was struck at Delhi, the capital, in 722."

Some of his coins have the inscription in Hindi, *Sri Sultán Ghias-ud-dín.*

Muhammad Toghlaqs, the eldest son of Ghias-ud-dín Toghlaqs, who succeeded his father, reigned for a period of 27 years, when he died in 1351.

2.—Muhammad Toghlaqs.

Coin:—

المجاهد في سبيل الله محمد بن تغلق شاه
ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

"The warrior in the path of God, Muhammad, son of Toghlaqs Sháh."

* His tomb is situated in the environs of Delhi.

"Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, Ali."

Some of his coins have the inscription :—

ضرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد تغلق

"Struck in the time of Muhammad Toghlak, the slave of God, and dependent on His mercy."

Another coin has the inscription :—

ضرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن السلطان
السعيد الشهيد تغلق شاه منه سبع واربعين مبيع مايت

"Struck in the time of the slave of God, dependent on His mercy, Muhammad, son of the noble martyred king, Toghlak Sháh, in 747."

The following inscription occurs on a coin :—

مهر شد مك رايچ در روزگار بنده اميدوار محمد تغلق
من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن
در تخت گاه دهلي مال به هفتصد مي و يك

"This coin became current in the time of the slave of God, dependent on His mercy, Muhammad Toghlak.

Verily, he who obeys the king, obeys God.

Struck at Delhi, the capital, in 731."

Another specimen has the inscription :—

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولي الامر منكم محمد ٧٣٥
لا يؤلا السلطان كل الناس بعضهم بعضا تغلق

"Obey God, obey the Prophet, and him who may be in authority among you. Muhammad, 735."

"The king never denies justice to all, or any, of his subjects."

One specimen has the inscription :—

عبدالراجي محمد تغلق ٧٣٨ الملك والعظمة لله

"The slave of God, dependent on His mercy, Muhammad Toghlak, 731."

"Country and State belong unto the Lord."

Feroz Sháh Toghlak, cousin of Muhammad Toghlak, who succeeded the late king, reigned for 38 years, when he died* in 1388.

3.—Feroz Sháh Toghlak. Coin :—

السلطان الاعظم سيف امير المؤمنين ابوالمظفر
فيروز شاه السلطان خلد ملوك
ضرب هذ البكته في زمن الامام امير المؤمنين ابي الفتح
المستعصم بالله خلد خلافته

"The great Sultán, the sword of religion, the Amir of the faithful, the father of victory, the king Feroz Sháh ; may his kingdom last for ever."

"This coin was struck in the time of the Imám, the Amir of the faithful, the father of victory, Almustasad Billah, may he reign for ever !"

There is a coin of Fateh Khán,† son of Feroz Sháh, with the following inscription :—

*The tomb of Feroz Sháh is situated in the village Houz Khas, Delhi.—*Carr Stephen*, 157.

† Fateh Khán died in 1374 during the life-time of his father, and was buried in Qadam Sharif, about a mile-and-a-half to the south of the Lahori gate of modern Delhi. The sacred foot-print believed to be the impression of the foot of the Prophet Muhammad, on a small slab of marble was placed over the grave. The place has been since known as *Qadam Sharif*.

فتح خان فيروز شاه جل الله جل جلاله
في زمن الامام امير المومنين ابوالفتح المستعصم خلد خلافت

"Fateh Khán, son of Feroz Sháh, may his dignity, by the grace of God, last for ever."

"Struck in the time of Imám, the Amir of the faithful, the father of victory Almustasá; may his Khalifat last for ever!"

Abubakr Sháh, the grandson of Feroz Sháh Toghlak, who succeeded Ghias-ud-din II, and had reigned one year and six months (1389 A. D.), is represented by the following coin:—

5.—Abu-
bakar Sháh.

Obv:—

ابوبكر شاه ظفر بن فيروز شاه سلطان

Rev:—

الخليفة ابو عبدالله خلدة خلافت ٧٩٢

"Abubakr Sháh, son of Zaffar, son of Feroz Sháh, the Sultán, struck in the time of Khalifa Abu Abdullah; may his Khalifat last for ever! 792."

Nasir-ud-dín Muhammad Toghlak II, succeeded Abubakr in 1390, and occupied the throne for six years.* He is represented by coins bearing the following inscription:—

6.—Nasir-
ud-dín Mu-
hammad
Toghlak II.

سلطاني ضربت بحضور دهلې
مصدق شاه نائب امير المومنين ٧٩٣

"Muhammad Sháh Sultán, the deputy† of the Amir of the faithful; struck in the capital of Delhi, 793."

Some of his coins bear the inscription:—

سلطاني فيروز شاه مصد شاه
الخليفة امير المومنين خلدة خلافت

"Muhammad Sháh, the son of Feroz Sháh Sultán, (in the time of the Khalifa), the head of the faithful, may his Khalifat last for ever!"

Nasir-ud-dín Muhammad Toghlak II was succeeded by his eldest son, Humayún, surnamed Sikandar Sháh; but he died after a reign of 45 days. He was succeeded by Mahmúd Toghlak, during whose reign India was invaded by Tamerlane (1398 A. D.) Mahmúd died in 1412, after an inglorious reign of twenty years. He is represented by a gold coin bearing the following inscription:—

7.—Huma-
yún.

Mahmúd
Toghlak.

السلطان الاعظم ابوالمظفر محمود شاه مصد شاه فيروز شاه سلطان
في زمن الامام امير المومنين خلدة خلافت

"The great Sultán, the father of victory, Mahmúd Sháh, son of Muhammad Sháh, son of Feroz Sháh Sultán, Struck in the time of the Imám, the head of the faithful, may his khalifat last for ever!"

* His tomb is situated close to that of his father, Feroz Sháh, in Delhi.

† The Muhammadan kings took a pride in calling themselves the deputy of the Khalif of Baghdad. The expression Amir of the faithful signifies the Khalif of the time.

The Toghlok dynasty lasted from 1321 to 1398, or, including the period involved in Tymúr's invasion, to 1412.

THE SYAD DYNASTY.

Syad Khizar Khán.
|
Syad Mubarak Shah.
|
Syad Muhammad Sháh.
|
Syad Ala-ud-dín.

1.—Syad
Khizar Khán.

Khizar Khán, the founder of the Syad dynasty of kings, and originally viceroy of Lahore, on assuming the sovereign authority, struck no coin in his own name, but ruled India in the name of Tymúr, to whom he remitted tribute, and whose name he caused to be read in the *Khutba*.

2.—Syad
Mubarak
Sháh.

Mubarak Sháh, who succeeded his father, Khizar Khán, in 1421, was murdered by conspirators in 1435, while at worship in a mosque at Delhi.* The following is the inscription on his coin :—

مبارك شاه سلطان نائب امير المؤمنين
ضربت بخره دهلي ۸۳۵

"Mubarak Sháh Sultán, the deputy of the Amir of the faithful. Struck in the capital of Delhi in 835."

3.—Syad
Muhammad
Sháh.

Syad Muhammad Sháh, who succeeded his father, occupied the throne for twelve years, when he died, in 1445.† His coin has the following inscription :—

سلطان محمد شاه بن فرید شاه
الخلیفه امیر المؤمنين خلد خلافت بخره دهلي ۸۴۷

"Sultán Muhammad Sháh, son of Farid Sháh, (struck in the time of) the Khalif, the Amir of the faithful, may his Khalifat last for ever ! 847."

A copper coin of this king has the following inscription :—

سلطان محمد شاه فرید شاه خضر شاه
خلیفه امیرالمومنین خلد خلافت بخره دهلي ۸۴۹

Sultán Muhamad Sháh, son of Farid Sháh, son of Khizr Sháh (struck in the time of) the Khalif, the Amir of the faithful, may his Khalifat last for ever ! 846."

THE LODI DYNASTY.

Bahlol Lodi.
|
Ala-ud-dín.
|
Sikandar.
|
Ibrahim.

* His tomb is situated in village Muharakpur near the mausoleum of Safdar Jang, about five miles to the south of modern Delhi.—*Garr Stephen*, p. 160.

† The tomb of Syad Muhammad Sháh is in the village of Khyrpar (near Delhi) close to the tomb of his predecessor Mubarak Shah."—*Ibid*.

Bahlol reigned for thirty-eight years and died* in 1488. His coins bear the following inscription:—

1.—Bahlol Lodi.

المتوكل علي الرحمن بهلول شاه سلطان
في زمن اميرالمومنين خلدة خلافته بهضرت دهلي ٨٥٨

"Dependent on God, Bahlol Sháh, the Sultán. Struck in the time of the Amir of the faithful,—may his Khalifat last for ever!—in the capital of Delhi, in 858."

Sikandar, who succeeded his father, Bahlol, had reigned for a period of twenty-eight years and five months, when he died, in 1517.† His coin has the inscription:—

2.—Sikandar Lodi.

المتوكل علي الرحمن مكندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان
في زمن اميرالمومنين خلدت خلافته بهضرت دهلي ٨٩٨

"Dependent on God, Sikandar Sháh, son of Bahlol Sháh, Sultán. Struck in the time of the Amir of faithful, may his Khalifat last for ever, in the capital of Delhi, in 898."

Ibrahim Lodi, who succeeded his father in 1517, was slain in 1526, in the great battle fought between the Indians and the Moghals at Panipat, in which the supremacy of the latter, under their great leader Babar, was established.

3.—Ibrahim Lodi.

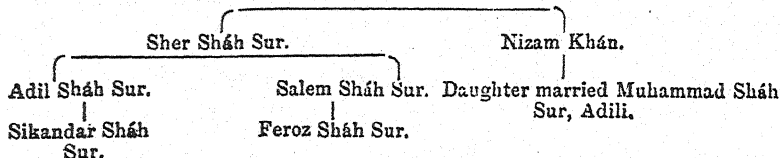
Coin:—

المتوكل علي الرحمن ابراهيم شاه مكندر شاه سلطان
في زمن اميرالمومنين خلدت خلافته

"Dependent on God, Ibrahim Sháh, son of Sikandar Sháh Sultán. Struck in the time of the Amir of the faithful, may his Khalifat last for ever!"

THE SUR DYNASTY.

HASSAN KHAN SUR.



Sher Sháh was crowned king of Bengal in 1539, and, on the flight of Humayún to Cabul, assumed the sceptre of royalty at Agra the following year. He was killed by the bursting of a shell, in Kalinjar, in 1545. His coin bears the following inscription:—

1.—Sher Shah Sur.

Obv:—

شیر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطان

Margin

فريد الدين و الدنيا ابوالمظفر السلطان العادل

* The tomb of Bahlol-i-Lodi is situated outside the western wall of the enclosure of the shrine of Nasir-ud-din, Cheragh-i-Delhi, in a garden known as Jodh Bagh.—*Asar-us-Sanadid*.

† His tomb is situated in Qutb, Delhi.

Rev :—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله—ابوبكر—عمر—عثمان—علي

"Sher Sháh, the Sultán ; may God perpetuate his kingdom and State ! The friend of religion and the world, the father of victory, the just Sultán. There is no God, but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. Abubakr, Umar, Usman and Ali."

2.—Salem
Sháh Sur.

Jalal Khán was crowned Emperor of Hindustán in the fortress of Kalinjar, in 1545, by the title of Islam Sháh, though he was familiarly known as Salem Sháh. He reigned for about five years, and died at Gwalior in 1553. He struck coin bearing the following inscription :—

ابوالمظفر اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه
في عهد الامير العامي جلال الدنيا والدين

"The father of victory, Islám Sháh, the son of Sher Sháh, the Sultán, may God perpetuate his kingdom ! Struck in the time of the Amir, the defender of the faith, the splendour of the religion and of the world."

3.—Muham-
mad Sháh
Sur.

Muhammad Sháh Súr, Adili, the son of Nizam Khán, assumed the Imperial diadem in 1553. His coins bear the inscription :—

المجاهد بتأييد الرحمن محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه

"The warrior by the grace of God, in the cause of religion, Muhammad Sháh the Sultán ; may God perpetuate his kingdom !"

4.—Ibra-
him Sháh Sur.

Ibrahim Sháh Súr, the brother-in-law of Muhammad Sháh, usurped the throne. A copper coin of his bears the inscription :—

ابوالمظفر السلطان ابراهيم شاه خلد الله ملكه
في عهد الامير العامي ٩٦٢

"Struck in the time of the Amir, the defender (of religion), the father of victory, the Sultán Ibrahim Sháh ; may God perpetuate his reign ! 962."

5.—Sikan-
dar Sháh Sur.

Sikandar Sháh Súr, having expelled Ibrahim Sháh, assumed the regalia of royalty, but died in Bengal after a brief reign. His coins bears the inscription :—

المتوكل على الرحمن مكندر شاه السلطان في عهد الامير العامي
٩٦٢

"Struck in the time of Amir, the defender (of religion), dependent on God, Sikandar Sháh, the Sultán, 962."

GENEALOGY OF THE MOGHAL DYNASTY.

(1) KUTB-UD-DIN AMIR TYMUR GURGAN.

(2) Jalāl-ud-dīn Miran Sháh.

(3) Sultán Muhammad Mirza.

(4) Sultán Abu Saïd Mirza.

(5) Umar Sheikh Mirza.

(6) Zahir-ud-dīn Muhammad Babar.

(7) Nasir-ud-dīn Muhammad Hamayūn. Kamran Mirza. Askeri Mirza. Hindal Mirza.

(8) Abdul Fateh Jalal-ud-dīn Akbar. Mirza Muhammad Hakim.

(9) Nur-ud-dīn Muhammad Jahāngir. Sultán Murad. Sultán Daniāl.

Sultán Khusrōw. Sultán Parwez. (10) Shahab-ud-dīn Muhammad Sháh Jahán. Jahandar. Shahr Yar.

Darah Shekoh. Sultán Shuja. (11) Muhammad Moly-ud-dīn Aurangzeb Alangir. Umed Bakheh. Murad Bakheh.

Muhammad Sultán. (12) Muhammad Musazzam Sháh Alam Bahādar Sháh. Muhammad 'Azim Sháh. Muhammad Akbar. Muhammad Kam Bakheh.

(13) Moiz-ud-dīn Jahānder Sháh. 'Az-ud-dīn. Md. Azimushán. Daulat Afza. Rafiushán. Md. Khajista Akhtar Jahān Sháh. Md. Humayūn.

'Az-ud-dīn. (19) Aziz-ud-dīn Alangir II.

(20) Ali Gauhar Sháh Alam.

(16) Rafi-ud-daula. (15) Rafi-ud-darja. (17) Roshan Akhtar Md. Sháh.

Mirza Jawan Bakht. (21) Moïn-ud-dīn Akber Sháh II.

Mirza Jahāngir. (22) Siroj-ud-dīn Muhammad Bahādar Sháh.

(18) Ahmad Sháh.

1.—Amir
Tymúr.

Qutb-ud-dín Amir Tymúr, Gurgan, surnamed Sahib-i-Qiran-i-'Azim, called also Tymúr Beg and Tymúr Lang, from his lameness. Born near Kesh (Shahr Sabz) April 6th, 1336. He was fifth in descent from Karatchar Miyan, the relative and counsellor of Changez Khán. Died February 8th, 1405, at Atrar, 74 farsangs from Samarkand, at the age of 70; buried at Samarkand, in a tomb which he had himself caused to be erected for the purpose. He is represented in the Museum by a silver coin, bearing the following inscription :—

Obv :—

سلطان محمود يرلغي امير تيمور گورگان

Rev :—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

“Sultán Mahmúd Yarlaghi Amir Tymúr, Gurgan.”

There is no God, but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God, 781.”

2.—Babar.

Zahir-ud-dín Muhammad Babar. Born 1483. His mother was Kutluk Nigar Khánam, the daughter of Yuni Khán, the grand Khán of the horde of Moghals. Died in his palace at Charbagh, near Agra, on 26th December, 1530, at the age of 47. His body was, at his own desire, carried to Cabul and buried in a beautiful spot marked out by himself on a hill near the city. Title after death, *Geti Sítani, Firdaus Makani*. His coin bears the inscription of *Kalima*, the names of the four Khalits of Islám and the King's name :—

ظهير الدين محمد بابر بادشاه غازي

“Zahir-ud-dín Muhammad Babar Badshah-i-Gházi.”

3.—Huma-
yún.

Nasir-ud-dín Muhammad Humayún. He was born in the citadel of Cabul on March 6th, 1508, and ascended the throne at Agra on 29th December, 1530. His mother was Máham Begam, a relative of Sultán Husain Mirza, of Khorasan. Died in his palace, in the Din Panah fort of Delhi, through a fall from the marble steps of his library, on the evening of 24th January, 1556, in the 48th year of his age, after a reign of rather more than 25 years. He was buried at Delhi. Title after death *Jannat Ashiani*.

His coin after the *Kalima* bears the following inscription :—

السلطان الاعظم والعاقل الكرم محمد همايون غازي
خلد الله تعالى ملكه ومملكته ضرب قندهار ٩٥

“The great Sultán, the revered sovereign, Muhammad Humayún, the va-
Most High. perpetuate his kingdom and State ! Struck at

There is a silver coin of Kámrán Mirza, brother of Humayún ^{4.—Kámrán Mirza.} who had been governor of the Panjáb for some time,* with the following inscription:—

Obv:—

السلطان المعظم والهاقان المكرم محمد كامران بادشاه غازي
خلد له تعالي ملكه و سلطانه ضرب قندهار ٩٥١

"The great Sultán, the revered sovereign, Muhammad Kámrán, the valiant King, may God, the Most High, perpetuate his kingdom and State! Struck at Candahar in 951."

Reverse—Kalima.

Margin:—

ابوبكر الصديق—عمر الفاروق—عثمان الغفار—علي المرتضى
"Abubakr the Just, Umr-ul-Faraq, Usman-ul-Gaffar, Ali-ul-Murtaza."

Abul Fateh Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar. Son of Hamida ^{5.—Akbar.} Bano Begam, born in the castle of Amarkot, in lower Sinch, on Sunday, the 15th of October, 1542. Crowned at Kalanaur, in the Gurdáspur District, on February 15th, 1556. Died at Agra, October 13th, 1605, at the age of sixty-three, after reigning fifty-one years and some months. He was buried at Sikandra, near Agra. Title after death, *Arsh Ashiani*.

There are several specimens in the Museum of the coins of Akbar, struck in the Mint of Lahore. They bear the inscription:—

اكبر اله جل جلاله

"God is (Akbar) great. Eminent is His glory."

This has, of course, reference to his claims to divine powers for the sentence may also mean, "Akbar is God, and eminent is his glory."

A gold coin of Akbar, struck at Agra, has the following inscription:—

السلطان الاعظم جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي
خلد له تعالي ملكه و سلطانه ضرب اگرة ٩٧١

"The great Sultán Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar, Badshah-i-Ghazi, may God perpetuate his reign and State! Struck at Agra in 971."

A gold coin struck in the Lahore Mint has the inscription:—

جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي خلد له تعالي ملكه
ضرب دارالخلافه لاهور ٩٧١

* Vide pages 22 and 23 *supra*.

"Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar, Badshah-i-Ghazi, may God perpetuate his kingdom and State! Struck at the capital of Lahore in 978."

In some other coins Lahore is called دارالسلطنه *Dar-ul-Sultanat*, or the capital. Many coins of Akbar have the *Kalima* in square, and the names of the four companions of the Prophet. Some have on them the inscription:—

الله اكبر جل جلاله

"God is great, and eminent is His glory."

6.—Jahān-gīr.

Nur-ud-dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr. Born at Fatehpur Sikri on September 2nd, 1569. His mother was Jodh Bai, Princess of Jodhpur, called Maryam-Zamani.* He died at Bhimbar, on the Kashmir frontier, on the morning of October 28th, 1628, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the twenty-second of his reign. His corpse was, according to his own will, interred in the garden of Nūr Jahān, in Lahore, across the Rāvi. Title after death *Jannat Makani*.

The coins of Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān, fully represented in the Museum, are highly interesting. Some have on them inscriptions of Persian couplets which are of real beauty and excellence.

A gold coin of Jahāngīr, struck at Lahore, has the following couplet, composed by Amir-ul-Umera Asif Jah, whose mausoleum stands close by.†

روی زر را ساخت نورانی برنگ مهر و ماه
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر این اکبر بادشاه ضرب لاهور ۱۰۱۵

"The king Nūr-ud-dīn Jahāngīr, son of the King Akbar,
Has made the face of gold to shine like the sun and moon."

Struck at Lahore, 1015.

Silver coins struck at Lahore have the following inscription:—

زر لاهور شد در ماه بهمن چون ماه انور
بدور شاه نورالدین جهانگیر این شاه اکبر ۱۰۱۹

"In the month of Bahman, the gold of Lahore became luminous like the moon.

In the reign of the King Nūr-ud-dīn, son of the King Akbar. 1019."

Another silver coin struck at the Lahore mint has the inscription:—

ز نام شاه جهانگیر شاه اکبر نور همیشه بادا بر روی مک لاهور
مس ۱۰۲۳

* Akbar's mother bore the title Maryam Makani.

"Through the name of the King Jahángír, son of the King Akbar,
May the coin of Lahore ever remain bright!" 1026.

A rupee, also struck at Lahore, has the following couplet inscribed on it :—

بدر بادروان تا فلك بود در دور
بنام شاه جهانگیر مکه لاهور ۱۰۱۷

"So long as the sky continues to revolve,
May the coin of Lahore be current in the world in the name of the
king Jahángír !" 1017.*

The following silver coin of the Agra mint, in the Museum, is interesting :—

مکه زد در شهر اگره خسرو گیتی پناه
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

"The king, the asylum of the world, Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of
the King Akbar,
Stamped this coin in the city of Agra."

Another coin of the Agra mint has the following inscription :—

مکه اگره داد زینت زر ۱۴ از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر ۱۰۳۸

"The coin of Agra was endowed with beauty of gold. 14.
Through King Jahángír, son of the King Akbar, 1028."

* Mr. Rodgers, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, mentions the following silver coins of Jahángír, struck in the Lahore mint; but they are not in the Museum :—

در اسفندار مز ابن مکه در لاهور زد بر زر
شهنشاه امم شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

"In the month of Isfandarmuz, this coin was struck on gold at Lahore,
By the monarch of the people, Jahángír, son of the King Akbar."

بماه تیر در لاهور زد ابن مکه را بر زر
پناه دین ملک شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

"In the month of Tir, stamped this coin on gold at Lahore,
The asylum of faith, King Jahángír, son of the King Akbar."

مر اردی بهشت ابن مکه در لاهور زد بر زر
شهنشاه امم شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

"In the month of Urdi Bahisht, stamped this coin on gold at Lahore.
The monarch of the age, King Jahángír, son of the King Akbar."

بشور و دین زر لاهور شد رشک مر انور
ز نور مکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

"In the month of Farwardin the gold of Lahore became an object
of jealousy to the luminous moon,
Through the light of the coin of King Jahángír, son of the King
Akbar."

The following silver coin of the Lahore mint was struck in the name of Núr Jahán, the king's favourite consort :—

بھکم شاہ جہانگیر یافت صد زیور بتام نور جہان بادشاہ بیگم زر
سنہ جلوس ۲۰ ضرب لاہور ۱۰۳۵

“ By order of the King Jahángir, gold received a hundred-fold additional value,

Through the name of Núr Jahán, the Chief Consort.
Year of accession 20 : struck at Lahore, 1035.”

A rupee of the Candahár mint has the following inscription :

سکہ قندھار شد دلخواہ از جہانگیر شاہ اکبر شاہ ۱۰۳۶

“ The coin of Candahár became delightful

Through King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar,” 1026.

6.—Sháh Jahán.

Shaháb-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh Jahán, surnamed Sahib Qiran-i-Sáni. Born at Lahore on 30th Rabi-ul-awal 1000 A. H.—(5th January 1592 A. D.), by the daughter of Ude Singh, son of Raja Maldeo, Rana of Marwár, commonly known as Jagat Gosáin. Died in the palace of Agra on 21st January, 1666, and was buried close to his favourite consort, Mumtáz Mahal, niece of the celebrated Núr Jahán, and daughter of Asif Jah, in the mausoleum now known as the Taj of Agra. He died aged seventy-four years, and had reigned thirty years. Title after death, *Firdaus Ashianî Ala Huzrat*.

There are in the Museum several silver coins of Sháh Jahán struck in the Lahore Mint. Some of these bear the inscription :—

صاحب قران ثانی شہاب الدین محمد شاہ جہان بادشاہ غازی
ضرب دار السلطنت لاہور

“ The second lord of Constellation Shaháb-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh Jahán, Badshah-i-Ghazi. Struck in Lahore, the *Dar-ul-Saltanat*.”

On the reverse is the *Kalima*, and in the margin are the names of the four Khalifa.

بصدق ابی بکر و عدل عمر باشرم عثمان و علم علی

“ By the truth of Abi Bakr, the justice of Umar, the modesty of Usman, and the learning of Ali.”*

There are several coins of Sháh Jahán in the Lahore Museum, struck in the mints of Delhi, Agra, Patna, Burhánpur, Ahmadabad and Multán. There are also some Nisar نثار coins of Sháh Jahán struck in 1066 A. H.

7.—Aurangzeb Alamgir.

Muhammad Muhy-ud-dín Aurangzeb Alamgir.—Born 22nd October, 1618, near Gujrát, (Deccan) son of Mumtáz Mahal. Died

* The attribute of each of the four successors of Muhammad is described.

on Friday, the 21st February, 1707, in his camp at Ahmadnagar, near Daulatabad, aged ninety lunar years and fourteen days, having reigned fifty years, and was, in pursuance of his own will,* buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of Sháh Zen-ud-dín, three kos from Daulatabad. Title after death, *Ala Khakani Khuld Makani*.

The following couplet, composed by Mir Abul Baki, known by the poetical name of *Sahbai*, was struck on Aurangzeb's gold coin, of which there are specimens in the Museum :—

سکہ زد در جهان چو بدر منیر شاه اورنگ زیب عالمگیر

“The King Aurangzeb-Alamgir

Struck gold coin in the world like the luminous sun.”

For silver coin, the word *Badr* بدر, “Sun” was changed to *Mehr* مہر, “Moon,” the remaining part of the inscription being allowed to stand.

There are silver coins of Aurangzeb in the Museum struck at Lahore in the fourth year of accession.

Some of the coins struck in Multán bear the following inscription :—

ابوالمظفر محی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب بہادر عالمگیر بادشاہ غازی

۱۰۶۹

ضرب دارالامان ملتان جلوس میمنت مانوس احد

“Abul Muzaffar Muhy-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir, Badshah-i-Ghazi—1069.

Struck in Multan, the capital, in the first year of the auspicious reign.”

Qutab-ud-dín Muhammad Muazzam Sháh Alam Bahadur Sháh. ^{8.—Sháh Alam,}
Born 1643, in the Deccan; died at Lahore, on 19th February, 1712, in the seventy first lunar year of his age and the fifth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Delhi, where it was buried within the precincts of the mausoleum of the saint Qutab-ud-din. Title after death, *Khuld Manzil*.

His coin, struck at Lahore, bears the following inscription :

سکہ شاه عالم بادشاہ غازی—۱۱۱۹

ضرب دارالسلطنہ لاہور سنہ احد جلوس میمنت مانوس

“The coin of Shah Alam Badshah-i-Ghazi, 1119.

Struck in Lahore, the Dar-ul-Saltanat, in the first year of the auspicious reign.”

There are coins of Delhi, Multán, Lucknow, Sirhand, Azimabad, Peshawar and Surat.

9.—Jahándár Sháh.

Muhammad Moz-ud-din Jahándár Sháh. Born, 1660, in the Deccan; died, 1713, and was buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of Humayún. Title after death, *Khuld Arámghāh*.

The following coins of this Emperor are in the Museum :—

(1) در افاق زد مکه بر مهر و ماه ابوالفتح غازي جهاندار شاه
۱۱۲۴

ضرب دارالخلافت شاهجهان آباد سنه احد جلوس میمنت مانوس

"The victorious Emperor Jahándár Sháh, the valiant,
Put his stamp on the sun and moon throughout the world, 1124.
Struck in Sháh Jahánabad, the capital, in the first year of the auspicious reign."

(2) در افاق زد مکه چون مهر و ماه ابوالفتح غازي جهاندار شاه
۱۱۲۴

ضرب دارالسلطنه لاهور سنه احد جلوس میمنت مانوس

"The victorious Emperor Jahándár Sháh, the valiant,
Struck coin in the world like the sun and moon, 1124.
Struck in the Dar-ul-Sultanat of Lahore, in the first year of the auspicious reign."

(3) بزد مکه بر زر چو صاحب قران جهاندار شاه بادشاه جهان
۱۱۲۴

ضرب دارالخلافت شاهجهان آباد سنه احد جلوس مبارك

"The emperor of the world, Jahándár Sháh,
Struck coin on gold like the Sahib Qiran, 1124.
Struck at Sháh Jahánabad, the capital, in the first year of the auspicious reign."

10.—Farrukh Siyar.

Muhammad Farukh Siyar. Born 1686; died 1719 after a reign of six years and four months. Buried in the sepulchre of Humayún. Title after death, *Shahidi Mahrum*.

His coins, struck at Lahore, bear the following inscription :—

مکه زد از فضل حق بر میم و زر بادشاه بهر و بر فرخ میم
۱۱۲۵

ضرب دارالسلطنه لاهور سنه ۲ جلوس میمنت مانوس

"Farrukh Siyar, the monarch of the land and sea,
Put his stamp on silver and gold, through the grace of God, 1125.
Struck in Lahore, the Dar ul-Sultanat, in the second year of the auspicious reign."

There are coins, struck in Kashmír, Murshadabad, called *Khujista Bunyad*, *خجسته بنیاد* (of auspices origin); Sháhja-

nabad called the *Dar-ul-Khilāfat* دارالخلافت; Akbarabad, called *Mustakir-ul-Mulk* مستقر الملك or *Mustakir-ul-Khilāfat* مستقر الخلافت (the seat of the Empire); Burhanpur, called *Dar-ul-Sarur* دارالسورور (the place of joy); Azimabad; Bareilly; and Multán, called *Darul-Aman* (or the house of peace), Arcot and Etawa.

Shams-ud-dín Abul Barakát Rafi-ul-Daraját. Died 1718. Buried in the mausoleum of Humayún. 11.—R a fi-
ul-Darjât.

The following coin, struck by this Emperor at Lahore, is in the Museum :—

زد مک بھند با هزاران برکات شاہنشہ یحییٰ رفیع الدرجات
۱۱۳۱
ضرب دارالسلطنت لاہور سنہ احد جلوس

“Rafi-ul-Darjât, the monarch of land and sea,

Struck coin in India with thousands of blessings, 1131.

Struck at Lahore, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, in the first year of the reign.”

There are also coins of Multan and Sháh Jahánabad struck by this Emperor.

Rafi-ud-Daula Sháh Jahán II. Died 1718. Buried in the mausoleum of Humayún. Struck coin in Lahore with the following inscription :— 12.—R a fi-
ud-Daula.

مک مبارک شاہجہان بادشاہ غازی—۱۱۳۱
ضرب دارالسلطنت لاہور احد جلوس

“The auspicious coin of the valiant king, Sháh Jahán, 1131 (1718 A.D.)

Struck at Lahore, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, in the first year of the auspicious reign.”

Abul Fatah, Roushan Akhtar, Násir-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh. Born 5th August 1702 A.D., in the neighbourhood of Ghazni, son of Maryam Makani. Died at Delhi, on the morning of the 14th April, 1748, in the thirty-first year of his reign and forty-sixth year of his age. Buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of Nizám-ud-dín, Delhi. Title after death, *Firdaus Arámgháh*. The coins struck by this Emperor in the Lahore mint, bear the following inscription :— 13.—M u-
hammad
Sháh.

مک مبارک محمد شاہ بادشاہ غازی—۱۱۳۲
ضرب دارالسلطنت لاہور سنہ احد جلوس مہینہ مالوس

“The fortunate coin of Muhammad Sháh, the valiant king,—1132.

Struck at Lahore, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, in the first year of the auspicious reign.”

There are numerous coins of this Emperor struck in the mints of Multán, Akbarabad, Sháhjahánabad, Peshawar, Surat, Akhtar

Nagar, (Oudh), Arcot, Murshedabad, Bareilly, Farukhabad, Benares called Muhammadabad, Etawa and Burhanpur, styled the *Dar-ul-Sarâr* (or the house of joy).

14.—A h -
mad Shâh.

Mojahid-ud-dîn Abul Nâsir Ahmad Shâh. Born 1727. Died 1775; buried at Qadam Rasul in the environs of Delhi. His coins struck at Lahore, bear the following inscription :—

۱۱۶۳ مکه مبارک احمد شاه بهادر بادشاه غازی
ضرب دارالسلطنه لاهور سنه احد جلوس میمنت مانوس

"The fortunate coin of Ahmad Shah, Bahadur, the valiant king:
A. H. 1162

Struck at Lahore, the capital, in the first year of the auspicious reign."

15.—Alam-
gir II.

Abul 'Adl 'Az-ud-dîn Muhammad Alamgir II. Born 1687; died 11th November, 1759, at the age of seventy-three; buried in the sepulchre of Hûmayûn. He struck coins bearing the following inscription :—

مکه زد بر هفت کشور همچو تابان مهر و ماه
۱۱۷۰ شه عزیزالدین عالمگیر بادشاه غازی

"The king 'Aziz-ud-dîn 'Alamgir,

Struck coin in these seven climes, like the luminous sun and moon, 1170."

The following square gold coin was struck at Delhi :—

Obv.—

مکه مبارک ابوالعدل عزیزالدین محمد عالمگیر بادشاه غازی
ضرب دارالخلافت شاهجهان آباد سنه ۲

Rev.—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

Margin—

بصدق ابوبکر و عدل عمر با شرم عثمان و علم علي

Obv.—"The fortunate coin of Abul 'Adl 'Aziz-ud-dîn Muhammad Alamgir,
Badshâh-i-Ghazi,

Struck at Shah Jahanabad, the capital in the year 2."

Rev.—"There is no God, but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God."

Margin—"By the truth of Abu Bakr, the justice of Umar, the modesty of Usman, and the learning of Ali."

The following coin was struck at Lahore :—

۱۱۰۰ مکه مبارک عالمگیر بادشاه غازی
ضرب دارالسلطنه لاهور سنه احد جلوس میمنت مانوس

"The fortunate coin of Alamgir Badshah-i-Ghazi—1100.

Struck at Lahore, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, in the first year of the auspicious reign."

16.—Shâh
Alam II.

Ali Gauhar Shâh Alam II. Born 1727 at Allahabad; died 1807, at the age of eighty-one; buried at Qutab, Delhi. Title

after death, *Firdaus Manzil*. He struck coin bearing the following inscription:—

مک زد بر هفت کشور سایه فضل اله
حامي دين محمد شاه عالم بادشاه

"The shadow of God's mercy, the Defender of the religion of Muhammad, Shah Alam, the king, put his stamp on the seven climes."

Another coin has the following inscription:—

مک صاحب قراني زد ز تائيد ال
حامي دين محمد شاه عالم بادشاه

"Sháh Alam, the king, Defender of the religion of Muhammad, Through the grace of God struck coin like that of Sahib Qiran."

Abul Nasr Muin-ud-din Akbar Sháh II. Born 1759. Died 17.—Akbar Sháh.
1821, at the age of sixty-two, buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of Qutb-ud-din. Title after death, *Arsh Arámgháh*.
He struck coin bearing the following inscription:—

مک مبارك صاحب قران ثاني محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي
ضرب دارالخلافت شاهجهان اباد مه احد جلوس ميمنت مانوس

"The fortunate coin of the lord of second constellation, Muhammad Akbar, Badsháh-i-Ghazi.

Struck at Sháh Jahánabád, the Darulkhiláfat, in the first year of the auspicious reign."

THE COINS OF NADIR SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

The Museum possesses some very interesting coins of the Afghan Kings. Notable among these are the coins of Nadir Sháh and his successors.

The gold coins of Nadir Sháh have the following inscription. 1.—Nadir Sháh.
He struck this coin after the battle of Karnal.

هست سلطان بر مملطين جهان شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران
خلد الله ملكه ضرب بهكر 1158

"The king of kings, the lord of constellation,
Is Nadir, the head of the kings of the world.
May God prolong his reign! Struck at Bhakkar, 1158."

Another coin has the following inscription:—

مک بر زد کرد نام مملطن اندر جهان
نادر ايران زمين و خسرو گيتي مستان
الخير في ماقع

"The coins of Nadir of Persia, the asylum of the world.
Have proclaimed his empire throughout the world,
What is past is best!"

There are coins struck by this king in Delhi, Pesháwar, Isphihar and Tabrez.*

2.—Ahmad
Sháh Durrání.

Ahmad Sháh Durrani struck coins at Lahore, bearing the following inscription :—

حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد بادشاه
سکه زن برمسیم و زر از اوج ماهی تاباه
ضرب دارالسلطنت لاهور سنه احد میمنت مانوس
در دوران احمد شاه بادشاه

“ By the command of God, the inscrutable, Ahmed, the king,
Struck coin on silver and gold from the bottom of the sea to the
height of the moon.
Struck at Lahore, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, in the first year of the
auspicious reign.
The pearl of the age, Ahmed Sháh, the king.”

There are coins struck by this king in Multán, Delhi, Sirhind, Kashmír, Bhakkar, Bareilly and Dera.

3.—Tymúr
Sháh.

The following coins of Tymúr Sháh, son and successor of Ahmad Sháh Durrani, are in the Museum :—

بصکم خدا و رسول انام بعالم یافست سکه تیمور شاه نظام—۱۱۷۱
ضرب دارالسلطنت لاهور سنه احد میمنت مانوس

“ By the command of God and the Prophet of the people,
The coin of Tymúr Sháh became current in the world, 1171.
Struck at Lahore, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, in the first year of the
auspicious reign.”

Another coin has the following inscription :—

چرخ می ارد طلا و نثره از خورشید و ماه
۱۲۰۵ تازند بر چهره نقش سکه تیمور شاه

“ Heaven has borrowed gold and silver from the sun and moon,
That the coin of Tymúr Sháh be struck on its face, 1205.”†

In the coins of Tymúr Sháh, Candahar is styled *Ashraf-ul-Bilad-i-Ahmad Sháhi* اشرف البلاد احمد شاهي meaning ‘the noblest of the towns of Ahmad Sháh.’

4.—Sháh-
zamán.

Sháhzamán, the son and successor of Tymúr Sháh, struck coins at Peshawar bearing the following inscription :—

* For further accounts of the coins of Nadir Sháh, see my *History of the Panjáb*, pages 196 and 202.

† The following was the inscription of Tymúr Sháh's seal :—

حلم شد از عنایات الهی بعالم دولت تیمور شاهي
“ Through the grace of God the kingdom of Tymúr Sháh
Became conspicuous in the world.”

Vide my *History of the Panjáb*, page 289.

قرار یافت بحکم خدای هر دو جهان
رواج مک دولت بنام شاه زمان

۸ ضرب پشاور جلوس میمنت مالوس

"Through the grace of God, the Lord of both worlds,
Coin became current in State in the name of Sháh Zamán.
Struck at Peshawar in the eighth year of the auspicious reign." 8.

A coin struck at Herat bears the following inscription:—

بزد مک بر زر بحکم الهی زمان شاه شاهان یمن ولیساری
ضرب دارالسلطنت هرات ۱۲۱۴

"By the command of God, Zamán Sháh, the king of kings,
Struck coin on gold in all directions.
Struck at Herat, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, 1214."

Mahmúd Sháh, the elder brother of Sháh Zamán, on ascending the throne of Cabúl, stamped coin of which the following, struck at Herat, is in the Museum:—

مک زد بر زر بتوفیق ال خسرو گیتی متان محمود شاه
ضرب دارالسلطنت هرات ۱۲۱۷

"Mahmúd Sháh, the king, conqueror of the world,
Struck coin on gold by the command of God.
Struck at Herat, the Dar-ul-Sultanat, in 1217."

Shuja-ul-Mulk, the own brother of Sháh Zamán (their mother was a Eusufzai lady), on ascending the throne, struck coin bearing the following inscription:—

مک زد بر میم و زر همیچو تابان مهر و ماه
شاه دین پرورده شجاع الملك شاه
ضرب سنه ۳ جلوس پشاور

"The king the disciple of the Faith, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk,
Struck coin on silver and gold like the luminous sun and moon.
Struck at Peshawar in the third year of accession."

A coin struck by Sháh Shuja in Kashmír has the following inscription:—

مک زد از فضل حق بر میم و زر
شاه شجاع الملك شاه بهرو بر—۱۲۱۹
ضرب خطبه کشمیر سنه ۲

"By the grace of God Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, the king of the land and sea,
Struck coin on silver and gold.
Struck at Kashmír in the year, 1219 A. H. and the second year of

7.—Ayāb
Shāh.

Ayāb Shāh, a younger brother of Shuja-ul-Mulk, who was installed on the throne of Cābul by the Barakzai Sardar, Mubammad Azim Khān,* stamped coin of which the following specimen, struck in Peshāwar, is in the Museum :—

در جهان روشن از خورشید و ماه
شد از شعاع مک ایوب شاه
ضرب جلوس پشاور سنه ۷

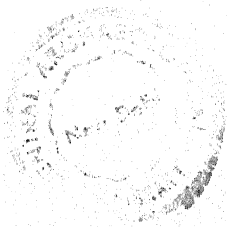
“The sun and moon gained their splendour in the world,
Through the brilliancy of the rays of the coin of Ayub Shah.
Struck at Peshāwar in the seventh year of accession.”

Other coins.

The Museum possesses a treasure of other coins, such as coins of the Sikh time; Persian coins; Central Asian coins; Russian coins; coins of Native States, namely, Nepal, Patiala, Nabha, Alwar, Bahāwalpur, Chamba, Jhind, Maler Kotla, Jaipur; also coins of the Lucknow Kings; English coins; Italian coins; French coins; European coins; American coins; Parthian coins; Burmese coins and Chinese coins.

* Vide my *History of the Panjāb*, pages 460 and 484.

The End.



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